DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 161 798 SO 011 258

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TITLE Women and Peace [And] Vienna Conference: Women and Disarmament [And] Women, Power and Alternative Futures, Part I: Women and World Order [And] Women, Power and Alternative Futures, Part II: Women and Power. The Whole Earth Papers. Vol. 1, No. 6-8, Spring, 1978.
INSTITUTION Global Education Associates, East Orange, N.J.
PUB DATE 78
NOTE 38p.; For related documents, see SO 011 257-259; Not available in hard copy from EDRS due to poor reproducibility and small type size of original document
AVAILABLE FROM Global Education Associates, 552 Park Avenue, East Orange, New Jersey 07017 ($2.50, paper cover)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Disarmament; *Females; Feminism; *Global Approach; International Relations; Justice; National Defense; *Peace; Political Power; Social History; Social Problems; Social Values; Womens Education; World Affairs; *World Problems

ABSTRACT

Four papers explore the role of women in promoting a peaceful world order. The volume is intended to increase understanding of the linkages between local and global issues, and to examine them as interrelated issues in an interdependent world. The first paper, "Women and Peace," is a historical analysis of the role of individual women, feminists, and suffragettes in working for peace during the late 19th century, World War I, after World War I, and in the United Nations. The second paper, "Vienna Conference: Women and Disarmament," contains excerpts and analyses of speeches made at a 1978 conference of women from non-governmental organizations in 23 countries. Participants discussed three broad topics: economic and social consequences of the arms race on women and the family, peace and disarmament education, and practical means of informing and organizing action by women on disarmament. The third paper, "Women, Power and Alternative Futures, Part I," explores the relationship between women's search for equality and self-realization and the historic drive for national and world security. It examines ways in which the arms race and other national security priorities have been factors in the subordination of women. The fourth paper, "Women, Power and Alternative Futures, Part II," examines the nature of power and the ways women have related to it throughout history. It asks why women do not exercise their power in critical world order issues and indicates a need for the assertion of "feminine" values. (AV)

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Women and Peace [And] Vienna Conference: Women and Disarmament [And] Women, Power and Alternative Futures [And] Women, Power and Alternative Futures Part II: Women and Power. The Whole Earth Papers. Vol. 1, No. 6-8, Spring, 1978.

By Josephine Rubin; Patricia Mische

Global Education Associates, East Orange, N. J.

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SO-011258

THE WHOLE EARTH PAPERS
Published by Global Education Associates
Vol.1 No.6 Spring, 1978

WOMEN AND PEACE

by JOSEPHINE RUBIN

When I was asked to write an article about women and peace I responded with pleasure; but my pleasure soon changed to concern and from concern to the realization that some study was needed because women do not present an easy stereotypical image or attitude toward peace. The sentimental argument that the fairer sex is just naturally peaceable is not valid; in fact, when it comes to war or peace the women generally follow the leadership of their respective countries.

Women do have a story — and a good one too — and if they were aware of their heritage, today's women might be more responsive to the dangers that confront all human beings. As things now stand, contemporary women present confused and diverse attitudes toward peace. There are several identifiable positions.

First, there are the neo-feminists who sincerely believe that if changes can be made in human relationships so that the domination of one sex over the other is eliminated then the changed attitudes will result in peaceful relations. These women are delighted that the Women's Rights Movement has resurfaced.

Some women in the peace field look upon the Women's Rights Movement as frivolous because peace is of such paramount importance that a woman's viewpoint in this nuclear age can only be of minor consequence or even divisive because both sexes share the same goals. Not long after Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams called out "Stop the Killing!" they were rebuffed by both men and women for sowing divisions among peace people. Both women subsequently received the Nobel Peace Prize for the year 1976.

Among today's neo-feminists, there are women who see equality as the only goal and in the name of equality are willing to serve in the armed services — a position which is in clear opposition to the earlier women's movement.

Finally, there are women in various societies who are willing to fight, fight,

Women do have a story — and a good one too — and if they were aware of their heritage, today's women might be more responsive to the dangers that confront all human beings.

fight for whatever national or ideological goals the group happens to support.

Increasingly today, feminists are turning to researching their past to lay the groundwork for social change and further consciousness-raising efforts. This is important to them because it provides women with pride and confidence as they realize how their contributions to the arts, medicine and the labor movement have been either overlooked or deleted from the record. Peace activity is one such area.

One only has to look at the index of any history textbook for a reference to peace — or, for that matter, for reference to women and peace — to realize that these topics are missing. If the word "peace" appears at all, it will be listed as *peace, see treaty of*, which tells the reader that peace only means the conclusion of conflict. This approach to the writing of history sustains the idea that it is the clash and clangor of war and the contests for supremacy down through the ages which really matter. The absence of both peace and women's role in it is a gross distortion of the human experience.

The purpose of this article is to sketch in some of the missing pieces. We begin with an explanation of the peace movement itself.

The modern peace movement began in the late Eighteenth Century. Deriving its moral force from Christian ethics, it incorporated popular ideas of the times, including rationalism, republicanism, education and the new humanitarian spirit. Feeling a sense of civic responsibility, people began to organize themselves to cope with the problems of war and peace.

The first peace society was founded in England in 1816. In the United States a scattering of peace groups joined in 1828 to form the American Peace Society. It was composed mainly of Quakers and abolitionists. Women who had been working for abolition began to work for peace also.

These early peace activities developed the concept of conscientious objection to war which affirmed that war was an immoral activity. Since people knew right from wrong, it was proper that they should refuse to participate in the crime of war.

Pacifists believed in the rule of law — only through its application could men be brought under control and warfare halted. They concentrated on mediation, arbitration, treaties with arbitration clauses and attempts to codify international law. They repeatedly called for some kind of international authority, be it a tribunal or a congress. They urged disarmament and education in peaceful values.

These societies so grew in number that by the end of the Nineteenth Century, no less than a thousand conferences of both the governmental and non-governmental kind had been held. They influenced the political leadership of the day.

Women Emerge in Peace Organizing

Until the 1880's, most of the organized peace work was done in England and the United States — two countries without standing armies and with a large measure of personal freedom. Yet it was a European woman, the Austrian Baroness Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914), who was the first woman to earn an international reputation as a leader of the peace movement.

Bertha's widowed mother, the impecunious Countess Kinsky, tried unsuccessfully to arrange a suitable marriage for her daughter, but Bertha decided to seek employment rather than resign herself to the life of a well-bred spinster. She was hired as governess to the von Suttner family where she met and subsequently eloped with Arthur von Suttner. The couple maintained themselves as writers and teachers. While they were living in the town of Kutais in the Caucuses, the Russo-Turkish War broke out. The war devastated the town and the couple suffered considerable hardship. The experience left a lasting impression on both of them.

It was during a visit to Paris in 1887 that Bertha first heard of the existence of a London-based Peace Association whose goal was the establishment of an international court of arbitration. Bertha decided to work for this International Arbitration and Peace Association and began writing articles. Later, she felt she must reach out to the larger public; she decided to use the novel as her medium.

Bertha spent considerable time researching the details of war to provide her book with verisimilitude. After numer-

Bertha von Suttner courtesy of the Austrian Institute

ous rejections it was finally published in 1891. *Lay Down Your Arms* had the public impact she had intended. The novel was a deliberate anti-war statement which shocked her contemporaries. They read about Bertha's heroine who went through life fleeing from one war after another. The book brought Bertha world-wide fame which she used effectively in organizing, writing and speaking for peace.

In 1891 Bertha published a manifesto which attracted a large number of peace sympathizers. This led to the formation of the Austrian Peace Association. At the Fourth World Peace Conference (non-governmental), she and Theodore Moneta of Italy and James Capper of England proposed a federation of European states. With Alfred Fried, she succeeded in forming the German Peace Association. In 1893, the International Peace Bureau was established at Berne, Switzerland. In 1896 she, along with Leopold Katscher, who had been instrumental in arranging for the publication of her book, organized the Hungarian Peace Society. Alfred Nobel, her former employer who had once been skeptical about her peace activities, informed her in 1895 that he intended to leave some money for peace purposes. [1] Bertha received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905.

Bertha twice visited the United States, which she admired for its federal system. She argued that this was the system for the world and the solution to the problem of war.

A pragmatist, she tried in one of her last projects to convince the Austrian Government to use the Austrian Peace Association as the nucleus for a department of peace. Although she started her vocation during her middle years, by the time she died in June, 1914, she was the *grande dame* of the peace movement.

The Reformers

The generation of pacifist feminists who followed Bertha von Suttner came from the middle class and from the new professional women who combined suffrage and feminist interests with a strong social reformist outlook. These women proved to be adept organizers. During the last quarter of the 19th Century, women's service organizations sprang up in the United States and in Europe. These groups aimed for mass memberships in order to effect social change. Peace was a priority among their many goals.

In 1893 the Columbian Exposition in Chicago had a Women's Pavilion and a Parliament of Religions where twenty-eight religions were represented. From the Women's Pavilion, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt set forth to help the Colorado Women's Christian Temperance Union in its drive for suffrage legislation. Colorado became the second state in the Union to grant the vote to women. Mrs. Catt went on to become the leader of the suffrage movement in the United States, seeing it through to a successful conclusion. She was president of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance during the critical years at the beginning of World War I. Later she founded the League of Women Voters of the United States.

In the Parliament of Religions, Hannah Solomon of Chicago, who had already made a name for herself in social welfare and suffrage, was asked to develop a program for Jewish Women. She did, and out of her efforts emerged the National Council of Jewish Women.

At the first national meeting in 1895, the Council of Women went on record as being for peace at all times. They petitioned President McKinley to submit the dispute with Spain to mediation. Over the years they worked for disarmament, for United States admission to the League of Nations and, with Mrs. Catt, helped to found the National Committee on the Causes and Cure of War. They were represented at the General Federation of Women's Clubs. They cooperated with the Women's Christian Temperance Union and joined the National Council of Women. Mrs. Hannah Solomon and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were American delegates to the International Council of Women in 1904.

"Who is this new woman who has become such an odd object?" [2] asked Mrs. Solomon. "She is the woman who dares to go out into the world and do what her convictions demand." [3]

At this time, women's work for peace was more than just another feminist concern; it had become an integral aspect of the entire movement because the suffragists were continuously challenged on the ground that, inasmuch as women did not bear arms, they were not entitled to vote. Only men would lay down their lives for their country. So the peace movement and the suffrage movement joined forces.

At a meeting of the International Arbitration and Peace Society in London in 1910, the suffragist position was articulated by one Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner who said:

"Women do not bear arms? Why should we? If at empire building women are not competent, may they always remain so.

"If some women are on the side of peace today, more will be tomorrow for as they get deeper and wider insight into national and international affairs so will they come to see that their whole interests are opposed to militarism and bound up with the maintenance of peace." [4]

The argument that women were unwilling to fight and therefore did not deserve the vote prompted a reply from Jane Addams (1860-1935) in the form of a book, *Newer Ideals of Peace*. In it she writes from the point of view of a social worker familiar with urban problems. City governments do not need military defenses, she argued, so the statement that women do not fight and therefore should not vote is absurd. Furthermore, there should be women in city governments, especially since city governments deal with the kinds of problems that are familiar to women: housing, sewage, food, milk, ill-ventilated factories, dangerous occupations, juvenile crime, crowding, prostitution, drunkenness. To test the electors' fitness by their ability to bear arms was ridiculous. But, she observed, the women themselves were confused because functions which were formerly the domain of women had been taken over in civic affairs by men. Women should be in government. Further, because industrialization, commerce and attendant problems of social welfare were international in scope, women belonged in world affairs also.

Up to now, peace efforts had focused on the use of legal methods and the development of world law. Jane Addams thought this "dovelike" approach was insufficient. Her emphasis was on economic and social change. The new urban society was growing world wide. She thought working classes around the world would share a similar viewpoint, as would the industrial and commercial interests, creating a new force for peace in the world.

Her identification of urbanization and other important social changes may have been accurate, but her assessment that these changes would bring peace has not been proven valid. Efforts to obtain world law remain a necessary and paramount concern.

Jane was also a bit unfair and premature in her reference to the older "dovelike" approaches, in that ideas which had been formulated earlier in the

Nineteenth Century were now taking effect in her day.

The Pan American Union came into being in 1889 and the twin ideas of mediation and arbitration had gained wide acceptance. Czar Nicholas called the First International Peace Conference. It met at The Hague in 1899 for the purpose of discussing a reduction of armaments, recodification of the laws of war[5] and machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Permanent Court of Arbitration was established. The Second Hague Conference convened in 1907. The years preceding the First World War were thus years of optimism. Books like *The Great Illusion* by Norman Angell argued that war was not in the interest of modern business and that the interdependency of nations through the postal union, copyright laws, travel and communications made war illogical.

The First World War

People were looking forward to the Third International Peace Conference, which was scheduled for June, 1915, at The Hague, so they were not prepared for the war that began in August, 1914, as a result of the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo.

One woman did anticipate the war: Rosika Schwimmer, who was thirty-seven years old in 1914, with twenty years of varied and successful experiences as an organizer in her native Hungary. She was fluent in several languages and had a talent for music, but she chose journalism both as a career and as a means to publicize the reform movements. In the summer of 1914, Rosika was working temporarily as the Press Secretary of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance in London, while seeking a stable professional life and income for herself.

There was a month and a half of dithering among the Central Powers before war actually started. As soon as hostilities began, Rosika circulated a plan for mediation to all suffrage leaders. She proposed a watching committee of neutral nations to mediate between the belligerents. Her plan included a second committee which was to begin to organize the world after the war. Members of both committees were to be appointed by neutral governments.

Rosika was heartsick over the separation from her family and friends and distressed by the war. Still in London, and considered an enemy alien by the British government, she drafted a petition addressed to President Woodrow Wilson. With endorsements from numerous suffrage leaders, she sailed to the United States in September, 1914, and presented the petition to President Wilson in the hope that, as leader of the largest neutral nation, he would use his influence to call a neutral conference. By then her petition had the support of suffrage leaders from Italy, Canada, Australia, Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, The Netherlands, Sweden, Norway and Great Britain.

"As women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and waste of war. As women we are especially the custodians of life of the ages. We will no longer consent to its destruction."

— Women's Peace Party, 1915

Rosika stayed in New York as the guest of Mrs. Catt, who, through her nationwide suffrage organizations, helped Rosika embark on a speaking tour of twenty states. Her pleas for mediation were well received.

Rosika, along with Mrs. Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, the well-known English suffragist, addressed a number of meetings and rallies in Chicago, which had become an important center for peace groups. Leaders of the Chicago group included Jane Addams, Louis Lochner, Florence Holbrook and Lola Maverick Lloyd, who together organized the Emergency Federation of Peace Forces. This group adopted a program which included mediation of the war and proposals for a world government to replace balance-of-power arrangements.

It was during these visits to the Midwest that a friendship developed between the Hungarian reformer and Lola Maverick Lloyd, the Texas-born graduate of Smith College. Their collaboration lasted for thirty years. Lola was the daughter of a Texas rancher, Sam Maverick, who refused to brand his cattle. Thus his name entered the American language, meaning one who is a nonconformist. Lola was an artist, a sculptor and a painter. She married William Bross Lloyd, son of Henry Demarest Lloyd, muckraking author. Lola, a suffragist and socialist, had grown up during the height of the populist movement.

Mrs. Catt, who at first supported Rosika's efforts, became increasingly concerned that peace activity might harm the suffrage movement. As president of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, her chief concern was to hold it together until after the war when suffrage work could gain momentum. A meeting of the Alliance scheduled for June, 1915, was postponed until after the war. As a consequence, two things happened:

First, Rosika Schwimmer and Mrs. Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence urged Mrs. Catt and Jane Addams to start a separate women's peace movement. Reluctantly they agreed. In January, 1915, three thousand women met at the New Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C. Secondly, in February, 1915, Dr. Aletta Jacobs of the Netherlands met with a handful of women from Belgium, Holland, Germany and Great Britain to plan a meeting for late April-May, 1915, to be held at The Hague to consider ways of ending the war.

Meanwhile, at the meeting in Washington, the Women's Peace Party made it clear where American women stood:

"As women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and waste of war. As women we are especially the custodians of life of the ages. We will no longer consent to its destruction. We demand that women be given a share in the deciding between war and peace in all the courts of high debate — within the home, the school, the church, the industrial order, the state."[6]

This first meeting of the Women's Peace Party produced some resolutions with a familiar ring:

— Call a convention of neutral nations in the interest of an early peace.

— A concert of nations to supersede the balance of power at the conclusion of the war.

— A court — or courts — for the settlement of disputes between nations.

— Limitation of armaments and the nationalization of their manufacture.

— Democratic control of foreign policies.

— No territory to be transferred against the will of the people of that region.

— Neutralization of the seas and international control of strategic waterways such as The Dardanelles, Panama, Suez, and the Straits of Gibraltar.

—Removal of the economic causes of war by national and international action.

— An international police force to replace rival armies and navies.

— Extension of the franchise to women as a principle of self-government.

With the Women's Peace Party in operation, Rosika, who had been elected international secretary, contacted Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Holland's first woman physician, asking to have Jane Addams named chairman of The Hague Congress. Jane had just been elected president of the Women's Peace Party and represented the largest neutral nation.

The Women's Congress at The Hague opened on April 28th. Two thousand attended to express their solidarity and determination to do something about the war. Five Belgian women managed to cross the border into Holland on foot. Cheers resounded through the emotion-charged hall as they were greeted by Anita Augspurg, leader of the German delegation.

Because the delegation of 180 English women had been denied travel permits; England was represented only by Chrystal MacMillan and Kathleen Courtney (who were already in Holland working on the conference arrangements) and by Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence, who travelled with the Americans. The American delegation was detained in the English Channel for four days by the British Navy. Released after pressure from the American government, the American delegates arrived barely in time for the opening session. French and Russian women were unable to attend.

The four-day conference had two conditions for debate: no discussion of the relative responsibility for the conduct of the war and no resolutions dealing with the rules for future wars.

The Congress adopted twenty resolutions,[7] among them ones opposing the assumption that women can be protected under the conditions of modern warfare and others calling for a just and magnanimous peace based on the following principles:

1. No territory should be transferred without the consent of the men and women in it; the right of conquest should not be recognized. (Peace without victory)
2. All nations should agree to refer future international disputes to arbitration or conciliation and to bring social, moral and economic pressure to bear on any country which resorts to war.[8]
3. Automony and democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.
4. Foreign policies should be subject to democratic control.
5. Women should be granted equal political rights with men.

The Congress also made plans for a post-war world which included a Permanent Court of International Justice and a Permanent International Conference to deal not with rules of war, but with practical proposals for furthering international cooperation. Women were to play a prominent role in the Conference.

The goals of an international conference were articulated as follows:

"This conference should be so constituted that it would formulate and enforce those principles of justice, equity and good will in accordance with which the struggles of subject communities could be more fully recognized, and the interests and rights, not only of the Great Powers and small nations, but also those of the weaker countries and primitive peoples become gradually adjusted under an enlightened international public opinion."[9]

This permanent peace conference would appoint a Council on Conciliation for the settlement of international differences arising from economic competition, expanding commerce, increasing population and changes in social and political standards.

The women at the Congress also considered such issues as disarmament, foreign investment, ratification of treaties and the establishment of national commissions for the continuing study of the principles and conditions for per-

Jane Addams

Swarthmore College Peace Collection

"If some women are on the side of peace today, more will be tomorrow, for as they get deeper and wider insight into national and international affairs so will they come to see that their whole interests are opposed to militarism and bound up with the maintenance of peace."

— Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner

manent peace. They advocated the teaching of peace in schools, the extension of the franchise to all women, the participation of women in the conference which would form the peace settlement after the war and the representation of all peoples at the peace conference.

The Women's Congress voted to perpetuate itself by establishing the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, which would meet at the same time and the same place as the official peace conference. Jane Addams was elected president and Aletta Jacobs and Rosika Schwimmer vice presidents.

As farsighted as the women were, they never forgot the immediate problem was ending the war. The key resolution from Rosika Schwimmer called for continuous mediation by neutral nations. Another resolution by Rosika — one which stirred action — called for the Congress of Women to send its own envoys to both the belligerent and neutral governments with its resolutions.

The team of women selected to go to the belligerent governments consisted of Jane Addams (U.S.A.), Dr. Aletta Jacobs (Holland), and Rosa Genoni (Italy). They were assisted by Dr. Alice Hamilton (U.S.A.) and Frau van Wulften Palthe (Holland). The team of women that visited the neutral nations consisted of Chrystal MacMillan (England), Rosika Schwimmer (Hungary), Madame Corramondt Hirshmann (Holland), and Emily Greene Balch (U.S.A.). Accompanying this latter delegation were Julia Grace Wales (Canada), and Lola Maverick Lloyd (U.S.A.).

From May until October, 1915, the Hague Congress envoys made thirty-five visits. According to Emily, both teams were received seriously, kindly and, perhaps, gladly by twenty-one ministers, two presidents, a king and the Pope. They had more than one conference in some instances. The team of MacMillan, Schwimmer and Hirschmann went back and forth between the Scandinavian foreign ministers to bring assurances that the calling of a conference by neutral nations for the purpose of mediation would not be considered an unfriendly act.

A report on this unofficial exercise in diplomacy was published by Addams, Balch, Schwimmer, MacMillan and Jacobs in the United States in October 1915. Regarding the political leaders' attitudes toward mediation, the women were convinced: "That the belligerent governments would not be opposed to a conference of neutral nations; that while the belligerents have rejected offers of mediation by single neutral nations, and while no belligerent could ask for mediation, the creation of a continuous conference of neutral nations might provide the machinery that would lead to peace."[10]

The women reported that the neutral nations were timid and hesitant and "concerned lest calling such a conference might be considered inopportune by one or other of the belligerents."[11]

It was up to President Wilson to take the lead. The idea of mediation strongly appealed to him, but he hesitated because he preferred to be the sole mediator and because his advisors were against his taking such an action. Nevertheless, he was easily accessible to appeals for peace, especially from the women. In July, 1915, Jane Addams reported to him on her talks with statesmen from the belligerent countries. In August, Emily Greene Balch told him of the delegation's visits to the neutrals and to Russia. In September, Dr. Aletta Jacobs told Wilson of the Dutch Government's readiness to act if he would join. In November, David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Stamford University, and Louis Lochner of the Chicago Peace Society also pleaded for a neutral mediating conference.

In the United States, the pro-ally/pro-war faction was growing stronger and was well represented by Wilson's two closest advisors, Colonel House and Secretary of State Lansing, both of whom offered numerous political and strategic objections to the calling of a conference of neutral nations. Finally, Wilson sent Colonel House to Europe in January, 1916, to sound out the belligerents on an American peace initiative. Colonel House, who favored intervention, was not a suitable envoy to discuss peace. He sowed confusion as to Wilson's intentions.

Just when hopes for mediation seemed to be at an impasse, Henry Ford announced he would sacrifice his fortune for peace. He was deluged with suggestions. These went unanswered, but Rosika Schwimmer finally gained an interview with him. Ford agreed to sponsor an unofficial neutral conference. He also gave money, nominally through Mrs. Ford, to finance a women's telegraphic barrage to the White House on Thanksgiving Day. Ford himself, accompanied by Louis Lochner, visited President Wilson to tell him that he, Ford, would act if the President did not.

When the question of transporting the American delegates to the proposed Ford Neutral Conference arose, Ford adopted Rosika's earlier idea of a peace ship to dramatize American concern for peace. He authorized Rosika to make the necessary arrangements. On December 4th the Oscar II left Hoboken, arriving in Norway on December 18th with its mixed cargo of students, suffragists, pacifists, ministers, reformers and journalists. This Ford Peace Expedition also toured Sweden, Denmark and Holland to pick up additional delegates before returning to Stockholm where the conference opened in February, 1916.

Ford and his peace ship were ridiculed in the pro-war American and Allied press. The very idea of concerned citizens involving themselves in peace negotiations angered those who wanted the war to continue until victory was won by one side or the other. Ford's sensational initiative kept peace on the front pages of the world's newspapers and was successful in breaking the censorship on peace news. Ford continued to subsizide this unofficial conference until March, 1917, one month before the United States entered the war.

The conference addressed appeals to the warring and the neutral nations. But, all too soon, it devolved into a study group. Rosika resigned as the expert advisor in March, 1916. She was ill from

prolonged overwork, and heartbroken over what she considered sabotage of mediation efforts.

The pacifists of World War I were a more lonely, more isolated group than one might suppose. The two major international peace advocates were the women's movement and the socialists. These two movements were disrupted by the war, by censorship and by patriotism. People who had provided a broad popular support for the peace movement turned to supporting the war effort in their respective countries. Only a segment of the women's suffrage movement held out for peace action.

After World War I

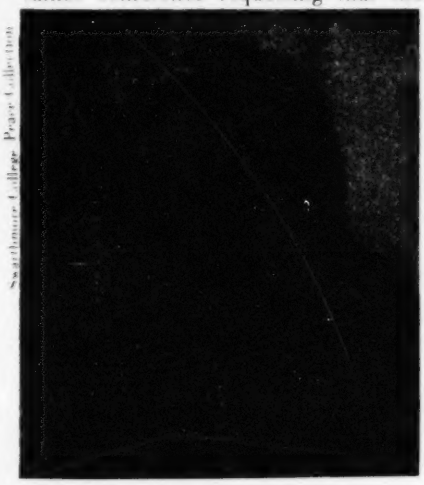
Emily Greene Balch (1867-1961), who was the third woman to receive the coveted Nobel Peace Prize (the second was Jane Addams in 1931) lost her professorship at Wellesley College in 1918 as a result of her pacifist activities. One of three daughters of a comfortable New England family, she had received her B.A. Degree from Bryn Mawr College, and studied in Paris, Berlin and Chicago. Emily was a reformist like so many of her time. She worked at Denison House in Boston and at the Children's Aid Society. In 1903 she was one of the founders of the Women's Trade Union League. She started at the Boston Chapter of the Women's Peace Party and served on the National Committee as well.

Emily was fifty-two-years-old when she went to work for *The Nation Magazine*. In April, 1919, she went to Zurich for the meeting of the Second Congress of Women called by the International Women's Committee for Permanent Peace. This meeting was meant to parallel the official peace conference at Versailles, but because women from Austria, Hungary and Germany were not permitted at Paris, Zurich was chosen for this historic event. Emily was elected the first secretary-treasurer of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which emerged from this Second Congress. It was for her untiring efforts to build a world-wide organization for peace that she was honored by the Nobel Peace Committee in 1946.

While working at the headquarters of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Geneva, Emily made valuable connections with League of Nations personnel, especially among those persons who were working for the newly affiliated organizations. She found their company and their activities congenial because she was temperamentally inclined to seek out solutions to specific problems.

Emily was a prolific writer and applied a keen intellect to specific trouble areas. She was not enthusiastic about world government but she did think that more attention should be given to problems of international administration. She saw the potential involvement of supra-national authorities in the resolution of disputes concerning the seas and the air. She argued that the world needed more 'trustees' and fewer politicians because she had a deep distrust of the coercive power of government. She looked forward to the development of a planetary civilization through the integration of areas of common interest.

Only 164 women were able to attend the Second Congress of Women. They brought with them tales of misery, starvation and disorder in their home countries. Their first action was to send an urgent message to the official Versailles conference requesting that the



Swarthmore College Peace Collection

Emily Greene Balch

blockade be lifted so that relief could be sent to the starving millions.

The Congress concluded its activities by sending a delegation to Versailles with their observations on the Treaty and the proposed Covenant for the League of Nations. These suggested:

1. Admitting without delay all nations expressing a desire to be admitted and a willingness to perform.

2. Amending the Covenant of the League so as to make the Council and the Assembly more fully representative of the peoples.

3. General and effective reduction of armaments as a first step towards the elimination from international relations of the use and threat of force.

4. Publicity for the League proceedings in order to educate the public.

As for the Versailles Treaty itself, the women interpreted the document as violating the principles of a just and lasting peace and sanctioning secret diplomacy and the rights of victors to the spoils of war. Further, they predicted that the economic and financial aspects of the Treaty would condemn millions to poverty and would help spread hatred and anarchy.

The women reorganized into the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The Women's Peace Party was absorbed into the new organization as the U.S. Section. Jane Addams became president, Lida Gustava Heymann of Germany vice-president, and Emily Greene Balch, secretary-treasurer. In November, 1918, Rosika Schwimmer was appointed Hungarian Ambassador to Switzerland, the first woman to hold such a position. She returned to Hungary on March 19, 1919. Two days later there was a communist coup. She refused to serve the new regime in any capacity and in retaliation she was denied permission to go abroad. The communists were replaced by fascist rule in August, 1919. Amid the general disorder and strife, Rosika's life was in danger. She had become diabetic and, between the grim shortage of food and a political price on her head, friends feared for her safety. With the help of foreign relief workers, she was smuggled out of Hungary to Vienna. She arrived in the United States in 1921.

Dissatisfied with the manifest weaknesses of the League of Nations, Rosika and Lola Maverick Lloyd drafted a plan for world government. It was first published in 1924 and then revised several times. The Campaign for World Government was formed in 1937 to promote it.

The Schwimmer-Lloyd plan urged governments to call a world constitutional convention — much like the convention of 1787 which drafted the United State Constitution. However, if governments did not do so, world-minded individuals would write the needed constitution, organize world-wide popular ratification and, if necessary, establish an unofficial provisional world government.

Their tentative plan for a federation of nations called for universal membership and representation by the peoples and not by governments. Voting was to be by individual delegates and not by nations. Delegates, who were subject to recall by their constituents, were to elect the

Rosika Schwimmer and Lola Maverick Lloyd

president, vice-president, executive board and all necessary administrative commissions. There were to be regional headquarters with regional secretaries chosen by the world parliament. World laws were to apply to individuals, not nations, with enforcement by non-military agencies.

Rosika's career suffered a severe blow in 1929 when her application for American citizenship was denied because of her refusal to promise to bear arms in defense of the U.S. Constitution. The denial reflected a strong reaction prevalent in the United States in the 1920's against pacifists and aliens. There was a popular and angry confusion of pacifism with socialism, communism, anarchism and other "isms." Americans had repudiated the peace movement in which they had played a considerable part in the past.

Many of her former associates abandoned Rosika. She could not have survived the following years without help from a few close friends. She who had considered herself a citizen of the world remained a woman without a country. In July, 1948, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the women's rights movement, she sent a message to the women's gathering at Seneca Falls, New York, which read, in part:

> "Not only is this great anniversary a time for pride but also for stocktaking. In the century which we celebrate, in country after country, the cause of women attracted and inspired superlative leadership. In almost every nation I recall women of statesmanship calibre, labouring under overwhelming odds, often against ridicule, with a high courage, a sense of universality and possessing an integrated philosophy as to woman's place and function in society, which I fear, is greatly lacking today . . .
>
> "One hundred years have passed and women's rights have come a long way. We have been recognized as persons, theoretically equal and eligible (although there are still many obstacles to push out of our way) and our struggles now merge into the world-wide campaign for the safeguarding of basic human rights . . .
>
> "I hope that on this centennial, which falls in the third year of the atomic era, women will retrace their steps from the many paths and blind alleys to which they have strayed in imitation of the social and economic morass of what we once called the "man-made world," and that they will remember that we sought equality for our half of the human race, not at the lowest, but at the highest level of human aspiration."[12]

Rosika Schwimmer died in August 1948.

Era of the United Nations

One cannot conclude a study about women of peace without mentioning Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962). Regardless of what anyone may say, she made an indelible contribution to the advancement of human rights. By so doing, she gave the ordinary citizen the necessary push in the direction of legal recognition in world affairs.

Eleanor Roosevelt's story is well known in the United States. She is also well remembered in the countless countries she visited during her later years. We need only mention her strong sense of duty and social responsibility, her development as an individual with a mind of her own and her awareness of how she could use her political position as the wife of a President to help the unfortunates in society.

Eleanor traveled the same route as the other reformist women. She became a pacifist as a result of her wartime visits to Europe. She did not initially approve of the suffrage movement, but her attitude changed completely after she learned of her husband's love affair with one Lucy Mercer. Eleanor went through a difficult period of feeling inadequate and unwanted. She did have a way with people, and her organizing ability was recognized by Louis Howe, family friend and advisor to Franklin, who encouraged and coached her, so that slowly she emerged as her own person. After passage of the 19th Amendment, she threw herself into the organizing of the League of Women Voters of New York. Her settlement-house work and her association with the Women's Trade Union League distressed the family.

She concerned herself with the urban poor, children, women, civil rights, housing, community planning, education, youth, national health, unemployment and advancing women in politics. During the 1920's she worked to promote United States' approval of the World Court (her husband's politics dictated no mention of the League of Nations). She only reluctantly adjusted her pacifism when it became evident to her that fascism had to be stopped. She urged post-war planning.

The divisions among the races both at home and on the international scene worried her as did the gap between the rich nations and the poor nations. She viewed this last matter with foreboding because she considered it a potential cause of yet another war. Such a war would be disastrous because of the availability of nuclear weapons. She hoped that women and youth would take the necessary initiatives for peace.

Eleanor was a natural choice to chair the newly-formed United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1948. In this capacity she skillfully maneuvered the contentious forces into a degree of

The problem of dominance is central to both the women's movement and the peace movement. The women's movement focuses on dominance in interpersonal relations. The core problem of the peace movement is dominance among nations through the medium of war.

cohesion. The result was a statement whose language, while general enough, did manage to include all claimed rights for economic, social, civil and political recognition. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights satisfied the United States Government because it was only a statement of high purpose and did not bind the United States or any other country. Only through the treaty or covenant-making process could the Declaration be implemented. Reluctance to enter into covenants continues as a stumbling block to the advancement of human rights.

Each year thousands of complaints about violations of human rights are received by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and each year these letters go unanswered. To acknowledge receipt of the letters would be to acknowledge the existence of the persons who wrote them. That would mean granting legal standing to individuals — something the member states of the United Nations are not willing to do. This could be accomplished by amending the Charter of the United Nations to make it a truly representative body as the early pacifists had wanted.

But the very existence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has encouraged individuals to become more assertive in world affairs and to claim "the right to life, liberty and security of person."

Eleanor Roosevelt was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, but she died before a decision was made.

Beyond Nationalism and Domination

Neither the peace movement nor the women's movement has been able to prevent war, though not for lack of trying. The suffrage women in particular believed that once they were given the vote they would be able to win positions of power which they would use to effect peace because their values were different from those of men.

The problem of dominance is central to both the women's movement and the peace movement. The women's movement focuses on dominance in interpersonal relations. The core problem of the peace movement is dominance among nations through the medium of war. The earlier feminists shared this understanding. Today's movement by women for acceptance as human beings and as equals under the law has not expressed this vision with the same intellectual clarity and moral fervor of the earlier effort.

To say this is not to deny the capability of women like Helvi Sipila, Assistant Secretary General for Social and Humanitarian Affairs at the United Nations; Elizabeth Mann Borgese, expert on the Law of the Seas; Barbara Tuchman, historian; or Hanna Newcombe of the Canadian Peace Research Institute.

The problem faced by the contemporary women's movement is that despite its acceptance in many countries, a pall of nationalism hangs over it.

The major international clearing house for women is the Commission on the Status of Women, which studies problems common to women in most societies. This Commission is part of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, which sponsored an international conference on women at Mexico City in 1975. The result was a "World Plan of Action," which was the product of the member states of the United Nations. The document, however, has the unfortunate effect of creating dependency instead of alleviating it. That is, women are still left to wait on the whimsies of their national governments as to whether or not and to what degree the women's cause will be advanced. A first reading may engender enthusiasm, but as women realize that national assets are increasingly devoted to armaments and national security at the expense of economic and social development, the document will be seen as a poor guide to the future. Women will have to do more for themselves.

This is especially true in the peace field. The peace movement is a male-dominated enterprise. Here is one place where women should try to move into decision-making positions. Women continue to maintain their own peace organizations but for influence they are not comparable to the establishment groups including the large foundations, research institutes and such citizen organizations as the Council on Foreign Relations or the World Peace Council.

Despite instant communications and ease of travel, the women's movement of our time lacks the international comraderie enjoyed by the first feminists who shared a consensus across national borders. Nationalism is an inhibiting factor because women as well as men are acutely aware of the national security factor in today's international relations. Nevertheless, women should attempt to forge better linkages among themselves. They have ample precedent. The women who met at The Hague in the Spring of 1915 in the midst of war proved that it was possible to keep one's ideals and one's wits, while a large part of the earth was engulfed in violence.

courtesy Jerry Soult, New York City

Josephine (Jo) Rubin is a pacifist feminist from New York City. She was an initiator of the National Women's Political Caucus. Currently she is active in the World Constitution and Parliament Association. She is Secretary to the Greater New York Council of Peace Organizations, a member of the National Peace Academy Campaign, and a contributor to Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

FOOTNOTES

1. Other endowments for peace include those of Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller.
2. *The Odd Women*, by George Gissing, 1893, was a popular novel about feminist types.
3. Hannah Solomon. Address to the First Convention of the National Council of Jewish Women, New York City, 1895, Proceedings of the Convention.
4. Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner. Address before the International Arbitration and Peace Association, London, October, 1910.
5. The most recent conference on the laws of war met in Geneva for four years, concluding its work in 1977; the goals being to make certain that all would play the game in a sufficiently sporting manner.
6. Mercedes Randall. *Improper Bostonian*, New York: Thwayne Publishers, p. 140.
7. Condensation of Resolutions Adopted, International Congress of Women, The Hague, April 28 to May 1st, 1915 "*Concordia*," Kadijk, Amsterdam.
8. The two ideas of peace without victory and of economic social and moral sanctions first appears here and were later adopted by President Wilson in his Fourteen Points.
9. Resolutions Adopted, International Congress of Women, The Hague, April 28 to May 1st, 1915, "Concordia." Kadijk, Amsterdam, p.8.
10. Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Times. Appendix, Chapter One, to Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in "Manifesto Issued by Envoys of the International Congress of Women at the Hague to the Governments of Europe and the President of the United States." George Allen and Unwin., p. 23.
11. Ibid.
12. Reported in *Peace News*, New York, July 1948. Fragment from The Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection. New York Public Library.

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This monograph, along with others in *The Whole Earth Papers*, is published by Global Education Associates, as part of their educational services. The papers are an effort to foster grassroot consciousness of the linkages between local and global concerns and of the needs and opportunities to undertake initiatives toward a more human world order.

The Whole Earth Papers are being written following the publication of *TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER: Beyond the National Security Straitjacket* (Paulist 1977) as a further development of and dialogue on the analysis and strategies outlined by Gerald and Patricia Mische in that book.

The Whole Earth Papers are designed as educational tools for adult and classroom educators, community organizers, lobbyists and issue constituency leaders as well as for individual and group study and reflection. G.E.A. welcomes comments on the papers, suggestions on topics for future issues and ideas on strategy and action which grassroots groups can undertake.

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THE WHOLE EARTH PAPERS
Published by Global Education Associates
Vol. 1 No. 7 Spring, 1978

Vienna Conference: WOMEN AND DISARMAMENT

Eighty-five women representing 34 non-governmental organizations from 23 countries met in Vienna, Austria, April 17-21, 1978, on the subject of "Women and Disarmament."

Participants discussed the following three broad areas:

—the economic and social consequences of the arms race on women and the family;

—peace and disarmament education, including the use of mass media and peace education materials;

—practical means of informing and organizing action by women on disarmament.

Convened under the auspices of the United Nations Special Committee of International Non-Governmental Organizations on Human Rights (Geneva) and the Subcommittee on the Status of Women, the meeting was scheduled to precede the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament. At the end of the five-day convocation the women issued a statement to be delivered and read before the General Assembly during the Special Session. (The text of the statement is on page 5.)

Of the three themes of the Women's Decade, Equality, Development and Peace, the first two have generally received more attention than the third. Yet, as many speakers at the Vienna Conference pointed out, the realization of equality and economic development is dependent on reversing the costly effects of the arms race. Achieving peace would enable nations to give priority to human needs — including the needs of women and children.

Featured speakers at the conference included *Helvi Sipila*, U.N. Assistant Secretary General for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs; *Liselotte Waldheim-Natural*, Chief, U.N. Center for Disarmament-Geneva; and *Dr. Herta Firnberg*, Minister of Science and Research of the Austrian Federal Republic.

The Vienna Conference was reminiscent of two women's congresses held during and immediately after World War I where women proposed the reduction of armaments and practical means to prevent future wars. (See Josephine Rubin's account in "Women and Peace," *The Whole Earth Papers*, Vol. 1., No. 6, Spring, 1978.)

In a step beyond the two Hague congresses of women, the Vienna Conference included participants not only from the Western nations, but also from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Japan and the developing nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa. *(con't page 10)*

VIENNA CONFERENCE . . . IMPRESSIONS

BY PATRICIA MISHE

"I came here with a great deal of anxiety," said one Western European woman near the end of the five-day conference. "I had never spoken before with anyone from Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union. I did not think we would be able to agree on anything. Now I see that it is possible to talk with each other and even agree on things important to us all." As she finished and as the simultaneous translations were completed, the other delegates applauded their affirmation. Clearly her experience was not unique.

The Vienna Conference on Women and Disarmament represented more than an attempt on the part of women from around the world to make their voices heard at the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. It was in itself a transitional step toward the more peaceful world order it espoused. It was a mutual learning experience that transcended the narrow limits of nationalism and ideology. Women shared hearts and minds on a common problem. When they left for their various countries there were warm embraces and a sence of solidarity in a common mission to speed the cause of disarmament.

It was not that nationalism had remained home. Some statements in the first days reflected national concerns and viewpoints. There were the carefully worded criticisms of military activity on the part of other countries while overlooking the involvements of one's own country. Sensitive spots were touched and some hurts felt.

A woman from Lebanon condemned Israel's invasion of her country. A Jewish woman who had fled Nazi Germany and found refuge for 18 years in Israel remarked that Israeli children and civilians had been shot down by terrorists. She felt a fair hearing was needed for her side. Speeches from Soviet sympathizers singled out the United States for the

Can the arms race be reversed? Can people and nations change their hearts and minds? The women at the conference were living testimony that the answer to this initial question is *yes.*

neutron bomb and the Vietnam War but ignored galloping developments in Soviet weaponry and the Soviet invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

At times it was difficult to be from the United States. Criticisms of one's nation are easier aired at home than received from abroad. Although I am myself publically critical of U.S. military involvements and weapons development, and am a professed "planetary citizen," I was still not immune from feelings of defensiveness and hurt national pride over repeated criticisms levelled from abroad at my country. A country, I was reminded, that had the highest military expenditures and most destructive arsenal of weapons in the world, while harboring hunger, unemployment and depressed cities in its midst. A country that had shown at Hiroshima and Nagasaki that it would employ nuclear weapons. A country that actively considered the deployment of a nuclear weapon designed "to kill people while it saved buildings." A history of military aid to dictatorships and of CIA-supported assassinations and military coups. A media industry that exported violent television programs around the world and was lax in promoting international understanding at home. Against these charges there was no defense. These are facts millions of U.S. people deplore. But I would have liked more time to adequately tell the history of peace efforts by millions of ordinary U.S. citizens and the rapidly growing work in peace and world-order education in U.S. colleges, universities and community organizations.

I found myself impatient with reiterations of the already familiar statistics and eager to move on to more substantive work to change the situation. At night I wrote myself a note: "Be open, be truth-seeking, be patient. Do not be drawn into counter accusations and dysfunctional debates about the past. The purpose of the conference is to transcend past conflicts, to find a new direction in history, a new globality of purpose. However, feelings about the past may need to be aired before the way is cleared for positive action."

The air *was* cleared and, despite our diverse histories and past guilts, we soon discovered each other as women who shared common problems.

We 85 women formed a mosaic of cultural, political, racial, religious, economic and age differences. We included housewives and career women, students and college professors, mothers of toddlers and 78 year old veterans of women's suffrage struggles and two world wars. During formal sessions and informally at meal times and in the evenings, we shared our stories. In multiple ways, the arms race was hurting us all.

Brenda Cole, a slim, attractive mother of two from Northern England spoke of the unemployment and inflation that afflicted her city and family. "No matter how much my husband and I try, we cannot make ends meet," she said. Unemployment and inflation were frequently cited by the women as side-effects of the arms race. Also frequently mentioned were basic needs for food, health care, education and housing, all of which directly touched on the lives of women and children and all of which were being neglected as national priorities were increasingly determined by the arms race.

It was not only the social and economic consequences of the arms race, however, that preoccupied the discussions. A woman exiled from South Africa made a plea for action against the shipment of arms to South Africa — arms that were used to maintain a system of apartheid and oppression. Similarly, a woman from Brazil linked arms procurement to the maintenance of dictatorships and oppressive governments in Latin America.

But it was a Japanese woman, Fumi Yamashita, who gave us the most poignant reminder of the consequences of the arms race. Fumi had brought a collection of photographs depicting the devastation and human suffering inflicted on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They were hung on the wall of our meeting room. These photos, taken by the U.S. Department of Defense in the hours and days immediately following the "operations," presented images of charred bodies, of levelled cities and the effects of radiation. They were not only a cruel reminder of the past, but a dire prediction of things to come if disarmament efforts fail. Fumi asked that the conference not limit itself to condemning just one type of nuclear weapon such as the neutron bomb, but that it make a strong demand for the banning of all nuclear weapons and the dismantling of present nuclear stockpiles. Existent stockpiles have millions of times the destructive capacity of the bombs used on the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A common cry at the conference was raised against the overkill capacity of present stockpiles. "There are enough weapons to destroy all of us many times over, but still nations go on producing more and more weapons," one woman said. "How many times can someone be killed?"

Women from the Super Powers

One incident at the conference stands out for me with symbolic significance. Olga Tchechotkina of the Soviet Women's Committee and I were sharing ideas over lunch. Ten years before, in my graduate work, I had done a cross-national study of themes of nationalism and internationalism in children's literature, including Soviet children's books. Now I was asking Olga about recent trends in children's literature and peace education in the Soviet Union.

We had hardly gotten into the subject when we were interrupted by Aline Boccardo, from neutral Switzerland. "Stop talking about children's books and peace education," she insisted impatiently. "You can do that after all the weapons are destroyed." Pulling her chair between us and holding each of us by the shoulder, she recounted a recurring dream of hers: She is riding on a bus. Ahead she sees dark smoke curling from an old building. As the bus nears, red flames are shooting out. There are people inside who are not aware of their danger and the fire engines have not yet arrived.

"That old building is the world," she said dramatically. "And the arms race is the fire that is consuming it. You two women from the superpowers — it is your countries who are the biggest contributors to this terrible tragedy. *You* must do something to stop it. What are you going to do? What are you going to do?"

What could Olga and I say? What answer is there? The people from the superpowers *do* carry a tremendous burden in reversing the arms race.

Can the arms race be reversed? A prior question would be, *Can people — and nations — change their hearts and minds?* The women at the conference were living testimony that the answer to this initial question is yes. Here were women sitting and talking together who in former times would have considered each other enemies. In the evenings at Bildungshaus Lainz they laughed, sang and even danced together. In a moving account, a woman from the German Democratic Republic described how she had been taught to be a good Nazi. "After the war I had to go through a whole new educational process — and a conversion of heart." A whole nation went through that education and conversion.

On a world scale a similar transformation is already slowly in process — among individuals and groups who, in a deep probing of their own humanness, are discovering the bonds they have with people everywhere, with our one planet, with all life. Can that growth process be strengthened and fostered among more peoples? The question demands an integrated spiritual and educational response.

Education is a vital aspect of preparing the soil for disarmament. Considerable attention was given to the means of strengthening peace education efforts in schools and communities.

An underlying assumption on the part of some women at the conference was that the present predicament was caused by "men." Some women rebutted the assumption. Helvi Sipila spoke to the question, in part, in her opening night address:

> "Women — like men — are contributors to the arms race and military expenses as long as they contribute to the funds used for this purpose, as long as they do not oppose it and as long as they do not try to find ways and means for eliminating the reasons why these investments have been considered necessary."

Why *have* these investments been considered necessary? A common answer is national security. History testifies to what has happened to militarily vulnerable nations. The question is not who is more at fault — men or women? Rather, both men and women face a common challenge. What alternative ways can nations develop to secure themselves against foreign aggression?

What are the Alternatives?

Nowadays, "advanced" weaponry can no longer ensure a nation's security. Even the "winner" of a nuclear exchange would be devastated. Radioactive fallout does not discriminate between friends and foes. The nations of the world have brought themselves to a situation in which they must find alternative means to ensure security or perish. The question of effective world law and other measures to ensure compliance in disarmament steps is vital to the realization of all disarmament dreams. Without that, no nation can realistically be expected to disarm.

Yet, in Vienna, there was little attention given to such concerns. While there was a consensus on the *need* for disarmament, the substantive *how* was almost totally neglected.

In a brainstorming session on peace education, I introduced the need for education on alternative means to realize national security.

"But that is not relevant to our discussion on disarmament education," one woman replied.

A woman from the Soviet Union came to the rescue. Slowly, thoughtfully, she responded to the objection:

"No, she is right. The question of national security is critical to our discussion. If we don't speak to alternatives that ensure security . . . In terms of disarmament, we can ask, even demand everything. But we cannot expect . . . But it is a very big subject. Perhaps we should have another conference devoted to just that."

At the closing session, after the unanimous adoption of a statement to the General Assembly and the conference report, and after a warm affirmation of the many friendships formed, one woman asked to be acknowledged. There was still something to be said.

"At this conference we have followed the pattern of having to indentify ourselves by nationality when we address the floor," she said. "I would like to ask that in future such conferences we drop that procedure. I consider myself a planetary citizen, one who has ancestral roots in many cultures and places, one who is concerned not just about my nation, but about our one world, our common global problems." There were tears in her eyes as she finished. She was loudly applauded by all and warmly embraced by those near her.

As I left Vienna,. the forsythia was blooming in sunbursts of yellow, spreading in brilliant contrast to the newly budding trees and spring green grass in neat yards and gardens. People were spading the soil and planting seeds. I suddenly saw all of us — the women I had known at Bildungshaus Lainz and people everywhere who were struggling to grow toward a warless future — as part of this unquenchable drive of nature toward life.

There has been an unprecedented evolution of consciousness and effort in this century toward peace. (Perhaps pushed on by the unprecedented destruction and threat to life in this century by modern weapons.) The Hague conferences at the turn of the century, the conceptual breakthroughs that led to the establishment of the League of Nations and the United Nations, the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament, the growing masses of people everywhere demanding an end to the arms race, all the little efforts to transcend nationalism — all these are signs of the will to life at work.

Women have been largely absent in the decisions determining the events of war and peace. The deepest impression left on me by the Vienna Conference was that women, the traditional bread makers, must become much more prepared to participate in the pragmatic leavening action toward a more peaceful world order. We must be ready not just to proclaim the *need* for disarmament. Like yeast, we must also be involved and active in the *how* of disarmament.

ONE CRY . . . MANY VOICES . . .

Excerpts from papers delivered or available at the Vienna Conference

Helvi Sipila, Liselotte Waldheim-Natural

Liselotte Waldheim-Natural
Chief, UN Center for Disarmament — Geneva

With respect to nuclear weapons current stocks are sufficient to destroy the world many times over. These weapons and their delivery systems are constantly being diversified and improved . . . The number of missile deliverable warheads of the two major nuclear Powers increased from about 3,700 in 1970 to nearly 12,000 in 1976 — a rise by more than a factor 3. Their combined explosive power is believed to be equivalent to 1.3 million Hiroshima-sized bombs . . . The main characteristic of the present arms race would seem to be the continuous qualitative change in the weapons and equipment being produced and deployed. It is primarily this feature that gives the arms race its momentum and complicates all efforts to stop or control it. The past decade has seen a continuous improvement of nuclear and conventional means of warfare.

Because these technological and qualitative changes have not always displayed the eye-catching qualities which characterize some earlier developments, such as the advent of the atom bomb, it may seem as though military technology was remaining relatively unchanged. Such conclusions would be unjustified since recent developments have profoundly influenced military capabilities, worldwide destructive potential and strategic conditions, possibilities and doctrines.

One could cite examples of this trend: Following the development and deployment of ICBMs and MIRVS, submarine-launched missiles, as well as the associated deployment of satellite surveyors and communications systems, a major innovation is already at an advanced stage of development. This is a maneuverable re-entry vehicle (MARV) which can change direction in the terminal stages of its trajectory. As a result it becomes possible to think of using ballistic missiles in "counter-force" roles to gain military advantage at the outset of a war by striking at the weapons and military installations of the opponent, or to use them to conduct supposedly "limited" nuclear war. The adoption of doctrines of this kind based on improved weaponry could greatly enhance the probability of nuclear war. No less significant are the implications of the deployment of long-range cruise missiles.

Developments in nuclear weapons technology proper are equally ominous, particularly the development of small low-yield nuclear weapons, of enhanced radiation weapons, the so-called neutron bomb, and of tactical concepts for their use in battle. Delivered with higher accuracy and causing less collateral damage per warhead, their use on the battlefield may seem more acceptable, so that the step from non-nuclear to nuclear war may be more readily taken. It is felt that once they are used on the battlefield, escalation towards full scale nuclear war becomes a probability.

Overkill and cookbooks . . .

I hardly could understand it in the beginning . . . how such a situation could have been created — worldwide! Our best men in brain power, our most highly paid and cherished scientists, those whom we had been trusting, believing to be protected by their skill, intelligence and clever inventions, now declare simply that our overkill situation is such that it can kill the whole of mankind many times over. Invariably women will say, amazed, "But that sounds crazy, that is impossible, you cannot kill your enemy more than once, you cannot kill him ten times or fifty times — or a hundred times."

Well, most of us never knew, and that is maybe an excuse. Our men have kept us so busy with household and childbirth . . . that we did not have time to worry about their hunting games. But I think the time has come when every responsible woman, mother, housewife, should have these statistics next to her family cooking book. If we do not learn quickly about all the existing stocks of atomic bombs, it is to be feared that pretty soon we won't have any more use for our family cooking books.

Highly skilled scientists have worked on *climate changing weapons* that in conflict situations are unpredictable and could be catastrophic. Always — "to protect us" (?) our cleverest men have invented flame-throwers, Napalm and other incendiary weapons. It is known that the destruction caused by them is often indiscriminate and more damaging to the civilian population than to the military. Highly capable human beings have produced herbicides that bring about abnormal processes or kill plants. They have invented poisons of the nervous system — psycho-chemicals that affect the functions of the brain. Without open protest they have allowed that all over this unfortunate planet of ours, military armaments go on and on, reaching currently the astronomic sum of 400 billion dollars yearly. That means about one billion dollars each day to produce armaments. To grasp the dreadful reality, just think: *each 90 seconds, one million dollars are spent worldwide to produce death and nothing but death!*

-Aline Boccardo, Women for Peace, Switzerland

MESSAGE TO THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

Women have always deeply desired world peace. They are concerned that the resources of this planet, the scientific and technological achievements, and the creativity of men and women be used to build peace and progress for all human society. They are convinced that the arms race, which consumes billions of dollars in developing, producing and maintaining ever more lethal weapons, must be stopped. The arms race fosters repression, as well as discrimination on the basis of sex and race. It pollutes the planet and squanders the world's natural resources. The arms race is a serious obstacle to the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

Women call for general and complete disarmament. They want the one billion dollars now spent daily on arms to be used to eliminate unemployment, disease, hunger and illiteracy and to improve the existing conditions of the millions living in want and economic underdevelopment.

Women contribute equally with men to the wealth of society. They are concerned that their aspirations and needs must be recognized in the decisions of the Special Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to Disarmament.

The 85 representatives of women's organizations from 23 countries, representing all continents, meeting at Vienna, Austria, from 17 to 21 April, 1978 in the seminar "Women and World Disarmament," ask the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Disarmament to commit itself to a program of action that will ensure general and complete disarmament within a reasonable time. Women expect this Special Session to agree to concrete steps to:

- halt the development, production and deployment of all new weapons and weapons systems, such as the neutron bomb;
- ban all nuclear weapons — their use, testing and production — and destroy all existing nuclear stockpiles;
- complete a treaty prohibiting production of chemical weapons and provide for the destruction of chemical stockpiles;
- prohibit the use and threat of force in international relations;
- provide for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes;
- proceed with the conversion from military to socially useful production, in the process of which women and men must be equally involved;
- strengthen disarmament negotiating machinery;
- promote education for peace and disarmament;
- support the convening of a World Disarmament Conference.

The goals of the UN Decade for Women — the achievement of *equality, development and peace* — and those of the International Year of the Child can be fulfilled only if the arms race is halted and real disarmament measures instituted.

ACTION GUIDE

Adapted from the Vienna Conference Report

1. *Become well-informed.* Study the documents and information available from the United Nations and political, religious, scientific and community interest groups. Become familiar not only with the dangers to life posed by the arms race and its social and economic consequences, but also with alternatives, including disarmament proposals before the United Nations. This is important so that pressure can be organized for the implementation of these resolutions by governments.
2. *Invite speakers and organize workshops* on disarmament for organizations in which you are a member.
3. *Become a resource person.* Learn to speak clearly and directly, using simple, clear, printed and visual materials. Help groups see the relationship between disarmament goals and their special interests and concerns, ranging from children and the family to food, nutrition, health care, housing, education, the environment, inflation and employment.
4. *Request candidates* for public office to state their position on disarmament. *Support candidates* who support steps toward disarmament.
5. *Press legislators* to vote the transfer of funds from military budgets to the funding of human needs.
6. *Support and urge others to support ongoing talks* on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and on Strategic Arms limitations. At the same time, press for practical steps toward the dismantling of existing stockpiles of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the banning of further development and production of all new weapons. Support measures to halt international trade in armaments, and measures laying the ground for eventual general and complete disarmament.
7. Urge the development of more effective peacekeeping and disarmament mechanisms at the world level to ensure compliance in disarmament agreements and the security of nations. This is essential if nations are to be realistically expected to progress gradually toward general disarmament.
8. Organize delegations to meet with representatives of radio, television and the press and prevail upon them to:
   a. report on the dangers and social and economic consequences of the arms race;
   b. feature news of positive peace actions;
   c. curtail the direct and indirect espousal of violence through programs of violence.
9. *Help to move public opinion* through public opinion statements for television and radio, magazine and newspaper articles, letters to the editor, and the development of slide or film strip presentations.
10. Urge *scientists* to help in informing public opinion on the dangers of the arms race.
11. Enlist women, youth, church, teachers, theatre groups, writers, artists, and other leaders to work for disarmament and peace.
12. Press for mass education to create an atmosphere of mutual trust, respect and understanding among nations and people. Help promote educational programs that develop appreciation for all humanity and the earth as our one, common homeland.
13. Press for and help develop teacher training programs in justice and peace education.
14. Work with parents and teachers to evaluate textbooks relative to war, prejudice, racism, sexism, ethnocentrism, etc.
15. Invite students (or the community at large) to submit essays, poetry and art work on the theme of peace and disarmament and arrange exhibits and awards affirming this work.
16. Develop peace and disarmament resource centers in your community, possibly under the auspices and with the support of one or more community organizations.
17. Promote international exchange programs, "sister-city" and "international city" programs, "world citizen" projects and other efforts that foster international understanding.
18. Hold peace festivals in your local area and/or help to organize national and international peace celebrations.
19. Work disarmament and peace activities into the agenda and programs related to The International Year of the Child and the Decade for Women. Peace is a stated, but often forgotten goal of both these events.
20. *Fast for peace.* This can be done individually or organized in groups.
21. Urge the convening of a *World Disarmament Conference* with the participation of non-governmental organizations.

THE COST OF BEING INNOCENT

In the past, men often justified involvement in war in the name of protecting innocent women and children. Now "progress" in weaponry has made it impossible to protect women and children in modern war.

The following figures, shared by Wanda Bollentin at the conference, indicate the alarming trend in percentages of civilian deaths:

	No. Dead	% Civilians
WWI	10 million	5%
WWII	50 million	48%
Korean War	9 million	84%
Vietnam War	1.3 million	90%
WWIII	ALL?	

VIENNA

At the end of five days of intense deliberations and close living together, the women who had gathered in Vienna from all corners of the world were given a tour of their host city. The tour guide described why the population of Vienna was decreasing. After World War II the city was left with 40,000 widows. Widowhood meant fewer children, and now the widows themselves were beginning to die.

But the loss of husbands and families that has been the common lot of women during centuries of warfare was not the only reason that Vienna was an appropriate place for this meeting on disarmament.

From its earliest known history, Austria has been a thoroughfare and (maybe consequently) a battleground. Its past is riddled with conquests, invasions and wars that have altered its boundaries, culture, architecture and character. Romans, Celts, Slavs, Huns, Ostrogarths, Lombards, Bavarians, Charlemagne, Moravians, Magyars, Napoleon, Ottoman Turks, Nazis, World Wars I and II are among the many military entanglements in Austria's past.

Today, Austria has a policy of permanent neutrality. She is no longer an empire, but neither is she a battleground. Her national budget allocates three times more to education and four times more to health care than to military expenditures, giving some indication of the social benefits of making a national decision not to participate in war.

Vienna is an international city, providing a third home for United Nations offices, and a meeting ground for East and West, North and South. This was an important factor in choosing Vienna as the location for the Conference on Women and Disarmament, for participants included women from countries of the Warsaw Pact as well as the NATO alliance. It included women from the economically poorer countries of the Southern hemisphere and more affluent countries of the industrial North.

Could these women work together toward the goals of disarmament? Vienna was an appropriate place to find out.

The ban of war . . .

It seems that the development of man's capacity to reason, to settle conflicts without applying force, has not kept pace with man's capacity to develop science and technology.

Experience incurred in two world wars, the threat of nuclear arms of destruction, the urgent problems of the world such as hunger, misery, terror, oppression, poverty and lack of freedom, must make us aware that there is but one prerequisite that we need if we desire a peaceful development for all people in the whole world: THE BAN OF WAR.

— *Dr. Hertha Firnberg*,
Minister of Science & Research of the Austrian Federal Republic.

Mass media . . .

Lack of information about the life of other nations, which I would compare to illiteracy, is a nutrient medium for distrust, prejudice and enmity. The mass media bear particular responsibility for this.

— *Olga Tchechotkina*, Journalist,
Soviet Women's Committee

A united struggle . . .

Women's organizations are extremely different. They represent different political and ideological views, different social groupings, they work in different national conditions and they have different tasks. But the struggle to end the arms race is their united struggle. The results achieved in it would open immense perspectives for achieving the aims of the women's organizations in all countries.

Mirjam Vire-Touminen, Finland
(Member of Parliament)

Scientists and ordinary people . . .

Scientists, the optimists among them, believe that in case of an atomic war, or even in case of an accident, large parts of the world will be destroyed. The pessimists think that, by chain reactions of atomic explosions, our whole planet will be blown up in the time of half an hour.

Now — what *excuses* have the scientists? The Pugwash Council declared: (Munich 24-29 August 1977), "No nation's security would be endangered — indeed it would be enhanced — by much lower levels of armaments. The obstacles are political and it requires only political will and political decisions to overcome them." And quietly the scientists put the burden on us, saying, "We call on men and women everywhere to redouble their efforts to make their governments understand and act in the face of our common peril." Also the World Federation of Scientific Workers put in turn the blame on others. They feel that *they* are victims of the military-industrial complex and financial groups that influence governments through political, military and industrial pressure groups and the mass media they control. Not to mention *the apathy* and *feeling of hopelessness* of *ordinary people*.

We are these ordinary people. But things have to happen, if we want to survive. What must we do? We have to face all this. We have to protect our children, at least we must try.

Let us ask then: If something as murderous and as expensive as nuclear weapons should *never* be employed — why *go on producing them?* Why go on *storing* them?

The situation being as it is, we call on all of you — as Women for Peace. Once and for all, we must cry out that for mankind *it is no longer a question of likes and dislikes* between nations, races and creeds in the big human family, *but a question of to be or not to be.*

Our whole planet is in danger of annihilation. I do not know if all 400,000 scientists together are able to undo what they have done to us by their military inventions.

— *Aline Boccardo*, Women for Peace,
Switzerland

"Women are the water carriers of the world. We want pumping systems and clean water, not cleaner warheads" — *Katherine Camp*

Women are victims . . .

Women are the water carriers of the world. We want pumping systems and clean water, not cleaner warheads. Where food is scarce, it is likely to go to the wage-earner, who is likely to be the man in the family. Inflation bolstered by military spending hurts the consumer first — most often the woman. Military-induced unemployment hurts the women first. The social services most needed by women — health care, day care, schools, training programs, jobs, care for the elderly — suffer the most from the distorted spending priorities of so many governments.

The moral values women try to impart to their children are undermined by military training and a militarized society, which glorifies violence. Whereas recent wars have wrought more casualties to civilians than soldiers, women and children are increasingly victimized by war itself.

When women better understand how the arms race harms them, they will more strongly insist on disarmament. The worldwide women's movement is our strongest ally. The 1980 United Nations Conference on the Women's Decade must more clearly reflect this growing consciousness of women that arms do them direct harm.

— *Katherine Camp*, WILPF

Funding human needs . . .

Think what the arms race money could do for humanity. Only 4 billion of the 400 billion dollars spent on arms would be enough to feed 200 million hungry children for a year, and just over 9 billion dollars would cover the cost of education for 900 million illiterates. Today it costs on the average 60 times less to educate a child for creative endeavor than to teach a soldier the ABC's of destruction.

–*Freda Brown* Australian President — Women's International Democratic Federation

The central issue . . .

Disarmament is the central issue of international politics and economics today. At the same time it is a focal point in the moral and spiritual life of humanity and in the education of the present and future generations. Unless the problem of disarmament is resolved, there can be neither peaceful and well-balanced family life, nor effective cooperation among nations in developing world culture and promoting progress, nor any hope of a peaceful future for our children and grandchildren.

–*Olga Tchechotkina*, Soviet Women's Committee

The choice is ours . . .

My friends, the choice is ours. If the present situation has been created largely by half of the world's population, the other half can change it.

How can we, as women and as mothers, continue to accept the present situation? If we cannot, then let us change it.

But a change does not come about through mere words. We need action. The action begins in our homes — from what we tell our children, from the example we give them; it begins in schools, where knowledge is increased; and it continues throughout our working lives. But the action must also bring us to the national and international forums, where the most important decisions are taken.

Are we ready for this action?

–*Helvi Sipila*, U.N. Ass't Secretary General for Social Dev. and Humanitarian Affairs

Economic development . . .

The arms race has been eroding the world's economic development in several ways:

1. By adding to inflationary pressures in generating buying power, without producing an equivalent supply of economically useful goods for the civilian market;
2. by limiting innovation and investment in technology, capital infrastructure, and human capital;
3. by reducing aid and consuming the scarce foreign exchange of economies already living at the margin of existence; and
4. by retarding education, health and other social programs for human and social development.

–*Inga Thorsson*, World Federation of United Nations Associations

The enemy image . . .

We women in the disarmament movement must never be drawn into fighting the cold war. We must not allow our thinking to be subject to the "enemy image," which leads each side to interpret actions of the other as evidence of the other's ill intent. For example, the civil defense program of the Soviet Union is seen by many in the U.S. as preparation for a nuclear first strike as it would lessen Soviet losses from U.S. retaliation. Groups in prolonged conflict form mutual images of each other as enemies.

The enemy image is the same regardless of who the enemies are. In 1942, when the U.S. was at war with the Germans and Japanese, U.S. public opinion polls described the Germans and Japanese as "treacherous and warlike," neither of which adjectives were applied to the peoples of the Soviet Union. In 1966, those characteristics were not ascribed to the Germans and Japanese but to the Russians and Chinese.

The enemy image is one of the greatest obstacles to disarmament; it leads to stringent, perhaps unattainable demands for verification. It stimulates frantic research and development for superior weapons, and leads both sides to proclaim their willingness to carry out their threats. (Dr. Jerome Frank). It is interesting that Soviet satellites are called by the U.S. "hunter-killers" but they call their own brand "SAINTS."

—*Katherine Camp*, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Mercy reversed . . .

Mercy, which is only love in response to need, is not only interrupted but reversed by war. Christians, who are called upon to love their opponents (and to perform for them the works of mercy — of feeding them when hungry and giving drink to them when thirsty), in wartime, go further than not feeding them or not giving them to drink. In war, and particularly in modern war, the works of mercy are obscenely reversed. Food to the enemy is blockaded so that noncombatant civilians will starve (since soldiers have first call on food supplies). A great exploit in World War II was the destruction in a bombing raid of one of the largest reservoirs in Europe. The aim was to cut off the supply of drinking water to the enemy community and was justified as a means of destroying the will to fight. The less active of the enemy population would of course be the worst sufferers: children, the ill, the aged, the blind.

—*Eileen Egan*, Catholic Relief Services

Excerpts from a paper by Shinko Yamaya, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Japan

Japanese citizens have a special witness in two regards:

Their tragic experience of the effects of nuclear radioactivity from both warfare use and the testing of nuclear weapons;

Their widespread public involvement in efforts for nuclear disarmament.

The Japanese peace movement sent 500 citizens to deliver millions of signatures to the U. N. Special Session on Disarmament calling for a ban on all nuclear weapons.

When, in 1945, the Japanese experienced defeat the tragedy of the atomic bombings on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there began to develop a strong hope among people that war might never be repeated again in history.

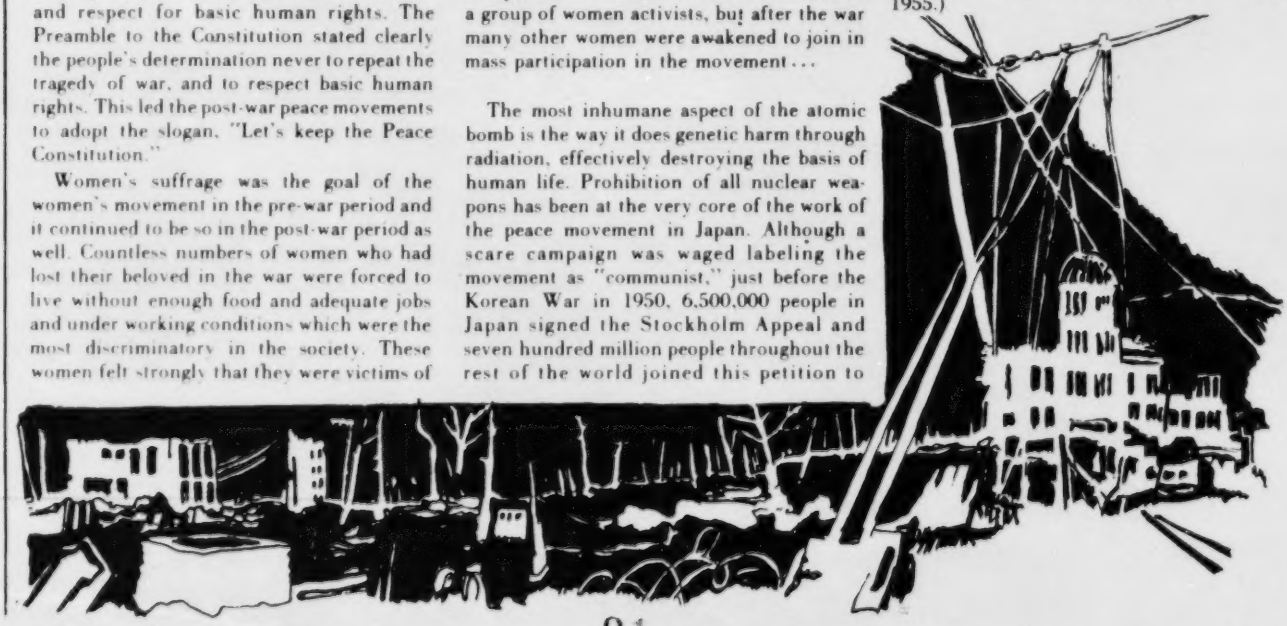
In 1947, the Peace Constitution with its strong emphasis on renunciation of war was promulgated. The Japanese supported it heartily because it declared resistance to war and respect for basic human rights. The Preamble to the Constitution stated clearly the people's determination never to repeat the tragedy of war, and to respect basic human rights. This led the post-war peace movements to adopt the slogan, "Let's keep the Peace Constitution."

Women's suffrage was the goal of the women's movement in the pre-war period and it continued to be so in the post-war period as well. Countless numbers of women who had lost their beloved in the war were forced to live without enough food and adequate jobs and under working conditions which were the most discriminatory in the society. These women felt strongly that they were victims of the war and wanted to oppose war in a united effort . . . Their united hope was that the destruction of life by war might be eliminated. The pre-war women's movement consisted of a group of women activists, but after the war many other women were awakened to join in mass participation in the movement . . .

The most inhumane aspect of the atomic bomb is the way it does genetic harm through radiation, effectively destroying the basis of human life. Prohibition of all nuclear weapons has been at the very core of the work of the peace movement in Japan. Although a scare campaign was waged labeling the movement as "communist," just before the Korean War in 1950, 6,500,000 people in Japan signed the Stockholm Appeal and seven hundred million people throughout the rest of the world joined this petition to forestall the use of atomic bombs in the Korean War.

In 1954, during a U.S. H-bomb test in the Bikini Atol, a Japanese fishing boat passing 150 miles from the scene of the explosion was exposed to the radioactive fallout. One of the fishermen died as a result and the rest of the crew experienced radioactive sickness.

(The test also irradiated fish, making them unfit for human consumption and unavailable in Japanese markets. Angry housewives began circulating a petition calling for a ban on nuclear testing. The women gathered 32 million signatures and initiated a movement which led to the First World Conference Against the Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, in 1955.)



Women meet . . . con't

Recognizing the limited goals of the 1978 U.N. Special Session on Disarmament and the need for long range and continuing effort, conference participants proposed action strategies to intensify disarmament efforts in the future. (See action guide on page 6.)

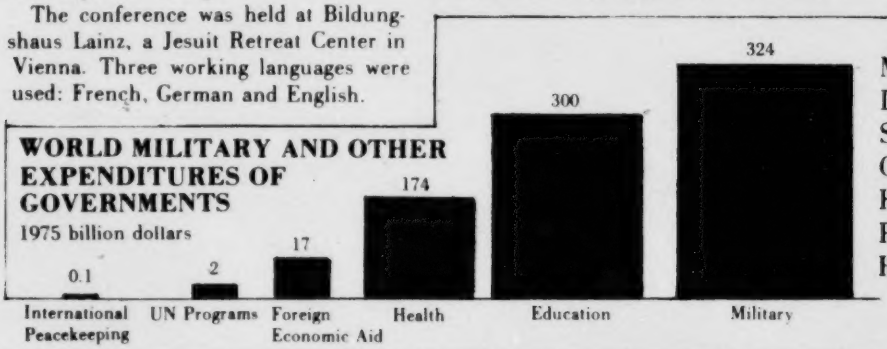
The conference gave special emphasis to the right and need for women to be involved equally with men in disarmament negotiations and other issues related to peace-making.

One important follow-up recommendation was that the goal of peace be given more emphasis on the agenda of the 1980 mid-decade conference of the U.N. Decade for Women. In conjunction with that mid-decade conference, it was recommended that a special international conference of women journalists be convened with a special focus on their role in peace-making.

The conference was held at Bildungshaus Lainz, a Jesuit Retreat Center in Vienna. Three working languages were used: French, German and English.

Among the non-governmental organizations represented were:

African National Congress of South Africa
Bund Demokratischer Frauen Osterreichs
Bund OsterreischerFrauenvereine
Bundesfrauenkomitee der Sozialistischen Partei Osterreichs
Christian Peace Conference
Frauenkomitee fur die Auufuhrung von Filmen in der Urania
Friends World Committee for Consultation
Global Education Associates
International Association of Democratic Lawyers
International Council of Women
International Federation for Human Rights
International Federation of University Women
International Movement for the Fraternal Union among Races and Peoples
Lutheran World Federation
Osterreiches Koordinierungskomittee fur Friedensarbeiten
Pax Christi
Soviet Women's Committee
UDE Friedensgemeinschaft
Voice of Women
Women for Peace
Women's International Democratic Federation
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women's International Zionist Organization
World Citizens Assembly
World Council of Churches
World Federation of United Nations Associations
World Federation of World Federalists
World Parliament and Constitution Association
World Young Women's Christian Association



MY FRIENDS, THE CHOICE IS OURS. IF THE PRESENT SITUATION HAS BEEN CREATED LARGELY BY HALF OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION, THE OTHER HALF CAN CHANGE IT.

Helvi Sipila

This monograph, along with others in *The Whole Earth Papers*, is published by Global Education Associates, as part of their educational services. The papers are an effort to foster grassroot consciousness of the linkages between local and global concerns and of the needs and opportunities to undertake initiatives toward a more human world order.

The Whole Earth Papers are being written following the publication of *TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER: Beyond the National Security Straitjacket* (Paulist 1977) as a further development of and dialogue on the analysis and strategies outlined by Gerald and Patricia Mische in that book.

The Whole Earth Papers are designed as educational tools for adult and classroom educators, community organizers, lobbyists and issue constituency leaders as well as for individual and group study and reflection. G.E.A. welcomes comments on the papers, suggestions on topics for future issues and ideas on strategy and action which grassroots groups can undertake.

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THE WHOLE EARTH PAPERS
Published by Global Education Associates Vol.1 No.8

Women, Power and Alternative Futures

by PATRICIA MISCHE

Introduction

Today, the history of women and the history of the world stand at a critical juncture. In a test of the uses of human power we are faced with making choices on a world scale that may lead in one of two directions:

1. The destruction of ourselves and the life sustaining qualities of our planet through the harmful uses of our power.
2. New heights in human development through the creative use of our power to develop a new order of greater peace, justice, and sensitivity to the integral order of life in the universe.

Women, comprising over 50 percent of the world population, were largely absent from the decision-making processes that produced the present crises. But they are now faced with critical choices that leave them as responsible as men for the future outcome of human history. How women choose — or fail to choose — may well depend on two factors:

— How women assess the relationship between their history and well-being and the advancement of a more humanizing world order of greater peace and justice;

— How women perceive their powers to be and do as agents of history.

This paper explores both these questions.

Part I, ***Women and World Order,*** explores the relationship between women's search for equality and self-realization and the historic drive for national and world security. It examines the ways in which the arms race and other national security priorities have been a factor in the subordination of women and their needs. It looks at the unfortunate image of a dichotomy in human values between those defined as "feminine" and those defined as "masculine" and the subsequent suppression of "feminine" values in the quest for group security and/or dominance. It raises the need for women today to be involved in work for a more just and peaceful world order.

Part II, ***Women and Power,*** examines the nature of power and the ways women have historically related to it. It asks why, despite over a century of feminist activity, many women do not exercise their power in critical world order issues. It indicates the need now for the reassertion and reintegration of "feminine" values in future world history and in work for world order alternatives.

There is an underlying question throughout: What evolutionary role does the ascent of women in this century have in the advancement of the species and in the forging of a new age in human history?

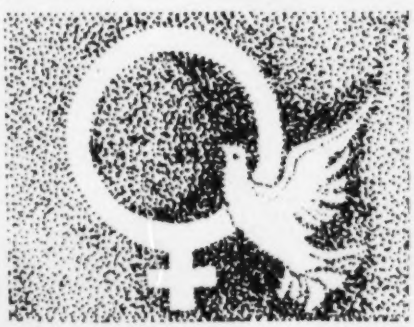
PART I: WOMEN AND WORLD ORDER

"Women and World Order" was presented by Pat Mische in adapted form on CBS-TV "Summer Semester," in June, 1978.

In 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton shocked women as well as men when she *dared* to propose at a public meeting that women should have the right to vote. That meeting, in Seneca Falls, New York, was the first organized effort in known history on behalf of women's rights. Those present at the Wesleyan Chapel adopted the Declaration of Sentiments and a series of resolutions which contained the planks for women's advocacy groups for the next century.[1]

At that time, women who married underwent, in the eyes of the law, a "civil death." To put it plainly, they lost their legal rights. Married women could not inherit property, keep their own earnings, make a will or win custody of their children. No woman — married or single — had the legal right to vote.

Aside from the question of legal rights were the burdens and limitations women suffered due to discrimination in employment and education. Further, except in Quaker circles, it was not acceptable for women to speak in public. At Seneca Falls women called for an end to all these forms of discrimination.



The women's rights movement has its roots in the abolition movement. In the 18th and 19th centuries, women as well as men worked actively for the abolition of slavery. But, when women tried to address public meetings on the issue, they were virulently criticized by clergymen and others. Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who both worked with their husbands in the abolition cause, were not permitted to speak or serve as delegates at the 1840 World Anti-Slavery meeting in London. In fact, all women who attended were relegated to the back of the meeting hall and seated behind a closed curtain.

The irony of this discrimination was not lost on the women. Were not at least half of the slaves they were working to free women? It was as a result of their experience at this and other abolition meetings that Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton convened the Seneca Falls meeting eight years later.

The cause of women's rights made gradual but slow progress after the historic declaration in 1848. It would take more than 70 years before U.S. women secured the right to vote. In most other countries it took longer.

. There were multiple reasons for this slow pace. For one thing, it was a revolutionary idea, one which threatened the established order of male dominance. Since women's rights advocates were subject to public ridicule, women themselves were often reluctant to push for change.

Also, travel and communications were much slower then, and especially difficult for women. The press was controlled by men. These handicaps made it difficult to build the widespread movement needed to win suffrage and other legal rights.

But another significant factor impeding progress was war and mobilization for war. The American Civil War, three Prussian wars in Europe, the Spanish-American War, and World Wars I and II all intervened and severely hampered progress in women's rights.

WAR VERSUS WOMEN

This last point needs to be considered at greater length. For, while the first two factors are no longer the handicaps they once were, the arms race and mobilization for war continue to have a negative bearing on the status of women today.

It was not just that war made travel and communications more difficult. This was certainly a negative factor, for it imposed major obstacles to women's efforts to build their movement across national lines.

Even more significant was the fact that in nations involved in war or preparing for the possibility of war, military mobilization took predominance over all other concerns — including women's rights and suffrage issues. It was difficult to keep women's issues in the public forum or receive a serious hearing in the face of threats to national survival.

An even more profound factor was the effect that militarization had in sex-role differentiation in the first place.

Historically, men, who had greater muscular strength, were entrusted with the task of defending the tribe, the city-state, the kingdom or the nation. Women contributed to group security and survival in another way — through child-bearing and nurturing. Boys were trained in values and skills related to cunning, competition, prowess, courage, strength and aggressiveness, which came to be prized as "masculine" values. Values associated with the nurturing role, such as gentleness, patience, love, came to be labeled "feminine." Thus war and its preparations obscured and restricted the human potential in both men and women for a more fully human experience.

Further, because "masculine" values were considered more essential to group survival they came to be more highly esteemed along with the men embodying them most fully. "Feminine" values, as important as they were to the group, could not ensure survival and could even mitigate against it in combat. Thus, in many societies organized for military security, these values — and the people who embodied them (usually women) — were considered of less worth.

The assertion by women of their personal worth and rights represented more than a threat to male dominance. It represented a threat to a social order built on military strength and supremacy. For the early suffragettes by and large did not advocate equality at the expense of their "feminine values." They did not aspire to the so-called "masculine values" related to militarism. They saw their goals of equality integrally related not only to the causes of suffrage and emancipation but also to the cause of peace. Many were pacifists — as opposed to war as they were to sexist inequities.

The early suffragettes by and large saw their goals of equality integrally related not only to the causes of suffrage and emancipation but also to the cause of peace.

This may be due in part to the high percentage of Quaker women who were active in leading the cause of suffrage. Unlike women in most other religions or sectors of society, Quaker women were accustomed to speaking in Quaker meetings and knew what contributions they could make. The number of Quaker women who became leaders and spokeswomen within the women's movement was thus out of proportion to their numbers in the population.

But it was not only the Quaker women who rejected militarism. So did many others, perhaps sensing that militarism would in the long run work against the best interests of women.

THE BALLOT, NOT THE BULLET

It was thus that Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and other women rejected the popular slogan directed against early suffrage groups: "The Ballot and the Bullet." This slogan was used to taunt the women and undermine their efforts. If women wanted to vote, the message implied, they had to be willing to fight. The widespread use of this slogan to suppress the women's movement was one more indication of the deep relationship between male dominance and militarism — and of the threat to militarism posed by women who claimed equal rights but were unwilling to forgo their pacifism. Undaunted, women's groups continued to align suffrage and pacifism under one organizational umbrella until World War I. They wanted the ballot and an *end* to the bullet.

Before the Civil War, many women's rights advocates had worked for the abolition of slavery, hoping women would win suffrage with abolition and the passage of black suffrage. After the Civil War they were keenly disappointed when the U.S. Congress passed the 15th amendment granting suffrage to black men but not to black and white women. Women knew they would have to work harder.

By 1890, over 800 activist women's groups had been organized worldwide. Seeing that political power was essential to securing other needs and rights, many of these groups now gave priority to suffrage. As a result this cause had begun to gain significant momentum before World War I. In 1893, New Zealand gave the women the vote. Australia followed in 1902. By 1913, 12 territories and states in the U.S. had granted women the vote, and in 1914 a suffrage amendment introduced in the U.S. Senate was defeated by only 2 votes.

WORLD WAR I

As in the Civil War, the Franco-Prussian wars and the Spanish-American War, the onset of World War I again curbed the rapid gains being made toward universal suffrage. But a number of U.S. women kept suffrage in the papers between the war news by an acceleration of tactics, including hunger strikes and the first protest demonstration at the White House. The demonstrators were arrested and imprisoned. Those on hunger strikes were painfully force fed.[2]

In Canada (except for Quebec) women were successful in winning suffrage in 1917, despite the war. In general, though, most women felt the best they could do was hold the women's movement together until the war was over. In fact, many suffragettes turned their energies from "women's concerns" to the war. In England, for example,

where suffragettes had been militant in efforts to keep their cause prominently before legislators and the public, they now ceased suffrage activity and devoted their organizational energies to folding bandages, working in hospitals and otherwise contributing to the war effort and national survival.

In the emotional heat of national mobilization, some women feared the cause of suffrage would be hurt by continued identification with work for peace. Reluctantly, those women wanting to continue work for peace — and especially to stop the war — continued suffrage work, but formed separate organizations for their peace initiatives. The Women's Peace Party was thus formed by women from Europe and North America. Its members convened two world congresses at the Hague in 1915 and 1919 — with the objectives of stopping the war and preventing future wars. Josephine Rubin outlines this history in "Women and Peace."[3]

After the war ended, women again resumed a massive campaign for suffrage. Their lost momentum was regained and significant progress was made between the two world wars. In 1920 the United States ratified the 19th amendment. Limited suffrage was granted in England after the war and in 1928 the English equalized suffrage for men and women. By 1939, Brazil, Salvador and the Philippines had granted suffrage; the movement was gaining strength throughout much of the world.

As suffrage was won, some women devoted themselves to securing other rights and to expanding suffrage efforts in countries where it was yet to be won. Alice Paul, who drafted the first equal rights amendment, represented a number of women's groups lobbying in Geneva for the recognition of complete equality for all women throughout the world. She founded the World Women's Party for Equal Rights in 1938. This organization was later successful in pressing the newly-formed United Nations to include equal rights for women in its charter.

WORLD WAR II

But just as this worldwide momentum was growing, World War II broke out. Women again saw their goals deferred "for the duration." National security and mobilization for war once more took priority, all but stopping further progress on women's rights. Many women from both the Axis and Allied nations were now enlisted in the war cause. Japanese women made bullets in munition factories, working from dawn to dusk. Many were consumed in the mushroom clouds and fire storm that rained death on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. So too, German, Italian, English, American, French and Soviet women worked in factories to keep the war engines running — and watched husbands, sons and lovers return in coffins and saw their cities and homes destroyed. African and Asian women were also affected, as competing powers fought to hold or seize African and Asian colonies and as their husbands and sons were forced to fight in a war that they felt had nothing to do with them.

Women who had a united stake in peace were divided by this war as by previous wars.

The war also served as a bitter reminder that women were excluded from life and death decisions that had a tremendous impact on them. Returning from Europe at the onset of World War II and appalled by the situation there, Alice Paul observed that the present crisis had come about without women having anything to do with it.

"If the women of the world had not been excluded from world affairs," she said, "things today might have been different."[4]

ERA OF UNITED NATIONS

With the founding of the United Nations after World War II, women's rights issues took a quantum leap into globality. In 1946 the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women was established with the mandate to "Promote the equal rights of men and women in the political, civil, economic, educational and social fields."

Through the work of this commission and with pressure on member nations to comply with U.N. charter objectives, significant progress was made. When the United Nations was founded, only one-third of the 51 member nations had granted political rights *by law* to women. Now all but eight of the present 149 member states have granted women's suffrage *by law*.[5]

While this progress must be affirmed, it must also be critically evaluated in terms of the objectives still to be reached.

PRESENT CONCERNS

By the 1960's and early 1970's it was being discovered by women everywhere that equal political rights *by law*, while a necessary first step, had not ensured equality *in fact*.

In most areas of the world, despite some progress, women continued in fact to be educationally, economically and politically disadvantaged or discriminated against. The following are illustrative of factors contributing to the equality gap:

Education

Of the approximately 800 million illiterates around the world, nearly two-thirds are women. In some countries women account for as much as 80 - 85% of illiteracy. Equal education for women is key not only to improvements in their personal well-being, but also to national well-being.[6]

Economic Development

Women in many countries are the central figures in agriculture, food preparation, health care, nutrition, children's welfare, population control and other vital areas related to a nation's economic development and well-being. Yet women had been all but forgotten in development planning during the first United Nations Development Decade of the 1960's. In the second U.N. Development Decade of the 1970's, goals were established to rectify this omission, but there still is a long way to go in achieving the greater participation of women — both in establishing what the goals should be in the first place and then in realizing them.

Employment

In many countries women constitute one-third or more of all heads of households and are the sole support of their families and even extended families. Yet, in rich and poor countries alike, women find themselves concentrated in a limited number of jobs, frequently at low levels of skill and responsibility and with equally low wages.

Economic Benefits

Women also find themselves handicapped in obtaining credit, mortgage loans, insurance, tax benefits and other economic benefits.

Political Leadership

Women have discovered that to make progress in other areas of women's rights and needs, they need to have more women in positions of political leadership. But in most countries, and in the United Nations, women have few positions of leadership and these tend to decrease as the center of power is approached. For example:

- There is presently only one woman head of state. There have been only five in this century.
- In the United States women have had

In most areas of the world, despite some progress, women continue in fact to be discriminated against and educationally, economically and politically disadvantaged.

political rights by law for over 50 years, but they hold only five per cent of public offices.[7]

- In the United Nations women's equality is a charter mandate but few women are in top positions. UNITAR figures[8] reveal the following percentages of women in higher ranking jobs:

General Assembly — The percentage of women changes from year to year, but the highest was 8.8 per cent in 1975 (which was also International Women's Year).

Security Council — Presently no women. There has only been one woman representative in its history — from Guinea in 1972)

International Court of Justice — none (no women judges were ever elected)

Economic and Social Council — 7.3 per cent (average)

Trusteeship Council — 6.9 per cent (average)

International Secretariats — In 1972 Helvi Sipila was appointed Assistant Secretary General for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. This was the first time a woman was appointed to the top ranks of a U.N. agency. In 1976 and 1977, following International Women's Year, UNESCO, ILO, WIPO and UNDP appointed women to higher ranks such as assistant or deputy director general, and assistant administrator.

World Conferences. Women have been tragically underrepresented at all the major world conferences and special sessions convened by the United Nations (except for International Women's Year.) The topics dealt with at these conferences were population, food, environment, housing, water, employment, law of the seas, a new economic order, and disarmament. These are world order issues of equal concern to both men and women. And, as has already been indicated, the resolution of many of these problems is heavily dependent on the participation of women. The lack of women's involvement in planning and deliberations related to these world order issues is not just a tragic loss for women. The failure to utilize the talents of women in global problem solving is a loss to the whole human community.

THE DECADE FOR WOMEN

The continuation of such realities led to a new wave of feminism in the 1960's and 1970's. Women wanted to participate equally in social, economic and political decision-making at all levels: in justice to themselves because their self-interest was at stake; and also because they knew they had a positive contribution to make.

In the U.S. women began to press for legislation aimed at redressing these social, political and economic injustices. Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment has been considered fundamental to this cause. Likewise women began to vocalize their grievances in other countries.

Through the United Nations women began to press for world action related to women's rights. 1975 was designated International Woman's Year. Under U.N. auspices, a world conference was convened in Mexico City. For the first time in history, despite differences in political and economic views, women from around the world presented themselves as a powerful global force. This time their focus was not so much the gaining of political rights by law, but full and equal participation *in fact* in the economic, social and political life of their nations and their world.

A *World Plan of Action* was adopted by the more than 100 nations represented. Knowing that one year was not long enough to realize these goals, the United Nations General Assembly established 1976-1985 as the *Decade for Women.*

The purpose of the Decade for Women and the World Plan of Action is to intensify progress toward three major objectives: 1. *Equality* for men and women; 2. *Development,* especially in response to the needs of women and with their participation; 3. *World Peace.*

Minimum goals were set for the first five-year period, to be achieved by 1980. These include:

- equal access to education and a marked increase in literacy for women;
- increased employment opportunities for women and an end to discriminatory practices;
- more women in policy-making positions at all levels;
- increased social services in the areas of health care, housing, nutrition, family education and family planning.[9]

There can be no doubt that these are important goals and, if realized, would enhance the status and participation of women as well as contributing substantially to development goals in poorer nations. Women have been meeting in regional and national conferences to work out common strategies for implementing these goals in their local and national contexts. The 1977 conference in Houston, Texas was only one such national conference.

All is not smooth sailing, however. The Women's Plan of Action is running into difficulties.[10] Realization of the goals is heavily dependent on the national governments. And the goals of the World Plan of Action are clearly not high on the priority lists of national governments.

Helvi Sipila, U.N. Assistant Secretary-General for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, and a leading spokeswoman for the advancement of women, states the problem this way:

> At a time when a massive campaign is needed within each country, and at a time when the formulation of national plans, programs and budgets to meet the respective needs of every individual country is urgently called for, priorities seem to be elsewhere.[11]

Where is that elsewhere? If we look at the national expenditures of money and the time and energy of national leadership we find priority consistently being given to national security concerns.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRAITJACKET

The feminists of the past found the cause of women's rights being subordinated in times of war to national security concerns. So also today. There are two important differences, however:

1. In the past, national security mobilization was mainly temporary — i.e., during

a shooting war. Today — in an age of nuclear missiles allowing zero lead time — nations remain *constantly* mobilized. The days of relative peace when demobilization permitted a return to other needs on the human agenda have disappeared.

2 In the past national security goals were predominantly *military*. Today national security is defined in terms of *three critical areas*: balance of weapons (the arms race), balance of payments and access to scarce resources.[12]

These three national security concerns present a major obstacle to further progress in women's rights. They also seriously impede progress in social and economic development, the second objective of the women's decade and an area vitally affecting the well-being of millions of women.

Let us look more closely at these relationships:

Balance of Weapons

In the absence of an effective world security system capable of ensuring a nation's safety against outside threats and guaranteeing compliance in disarmament agreements, nations fear to disarm. In fact, despite platitudes repeatedly mouthed by national leaders about how they are for disarmament, nations are continuously augmenting their weapons arsenals in military power struggles.

World military expenditures now approximate $400 billion annually. This is equivalent to the combined annual income of 1.8 billion people in the world's 36 poorest nations. Worse, the backlog of orders for arms is two to three times present deliveries, meaning an escalating percentage of national budgets will go to armaments in the future. The superpowers are the biggest spenders, but the percentage of national budgets for military spending is increasing rapidly in the developing countries.[13]

Men as well as women are victims of the arms race. But women, usually at the bottom of the employment ladder and in greater need of various social services are especially hurt. These monies could be used to build homes, day care centers, health clinics and to provide new employment and educational opportunities — all minimal goals of the Decade for Women.

As detailed earlier, women account for an inordinately high percentage of the world's 700 million illiterates. The cost of one Trident submarine is equal to the annual cost of educating 16,000 women or children in developing countries.[14]

Health care is another important plank of the Plan of Action. On the average, governments spend twice as much on military programs as health care. Health care and health education is vital to the welfare not only of women, but also of the children they are nurturing.

Women, who in most countries find themselves at lower levels of income, are especially vulnerable to inflation. Recent studies by Melman and Hong have shown that inflation is directly related to the arms race and a war economy.[15] If previous distinctions between periods of mobilization for war and demobilization have eroded, so have distinctions between war and peace economies. Almost all nations are now significantly increasing their armaments, resulting in escalating global inflation.

When women go to purchase the most basic staples — rice or bread or potatoes or maize — they find it more and more difficult to make ends meet. For elderly women on fixed incomes, for poor women who are the only support of their children, for women who are ill-educated or in ill health and not able to get jobs, the situation is especially tragic and depressing. How do women keep up their own morale when they fear their children will be malnourished or lack educational opportunities because rising prices are ever out of reach?

But the most critical aspect of the arms race is the question of human survival. The world's nations have now amassed enough destructive power to destroy the world — women and children included — many times over. There are currently 15 tons of TNT stockpiled for every man, woman and child on the face of the earth. The megatonnage of the world's nuclear arsenal is increasing daily and is now several million times the explosive force of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima.

In the past, arms procurements were often made in the name of protecting women and children. But modern weapons have destroyed increasingly higher percentages of civilian populations in recent wars. In World War I civilian deaths were five per cent of the total. In World War II, 48 per cent. In the Korean War it was 84 per cent and in the Vietnam War civilian deaths rose to 90 per cent.

In an age of nuclear proliferation, women are equal with men in the threat of annihilation. Nuclear weapons do not discriminate on the basis of sex. But women are not equal in the decision-making power to reverse this destructive trend. The arms race underscores the horrible fact that women are equal in death, but not in the power and means to choose life.

Balance of Payments

A nation's security as well as its welfare depends on avoiding a chronic deficit in international monetary transactions. A sustained imbalance of trade in which imports exceed exports, for example, would deplete a nation's monetary reserves of gold and foreign currency. The result would be grave economic instability as monetary reserves were used up to offset this deficit. The nation would be vulnerable to inflation, unemployment and economic and social breakdown.

In many countries payments imbalances pose a graver threat to survival than military threats. Increasingly, national fiscal and monetary policies are being determined by balance-of-payments criteria and economic warfare — and not by human needs such as those proposed in the Women's Plan of Action.

Priority is given to the production of those goods which can be sold in the world marketplace and thus bring foreign currency into national banks. Such national security production includes armaments, computers, aircraft, cash crops and other goods which can be *exported*. As a natural extension of this process, corporate organizations that can provide aggregate economic and logistical power are the recipients of government subsidies and loan guarantees.

Meanwhile, such needs as education, housing, health care (which are not exportable and do not alleviate payments deficits) and small business loans of the type many women seek, are given low priority because they do not contribute to this area of security. And as food is exported, its cost

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to domestic consumers rises.

Access to Scarce Resources

A third national security priority, competition over scarce resources, also threatens progress on women's goals. Without an effective global authority to manage a more equitable distribution of scarce resources, rich and poor nations alike are mobilizing their monies and institutions for resource security.

An obvious example is energy. With current oil and gas reserves rapidly depleting, nations are committing huge sums of money to energy security. But for many of the industrial nations, oil and gas are only two of many diminishing vital resources. The U.S., for instance, may be dependent on other nations for over one-half of each of 12 industrially essential raw materials by the end of this century.

The competition over these diminishing resources is likely to increase world tensions, further feeding the motors of militarism and national security prioritizing.

With priority increasingly given by all nations to these national security goals, it makes little difference who is in power. A woman head of state — or women in government — face the same pressing national security needs as their male counterparts, making it difficult to make substantial progress on seemingly "less urgent" items on national agendas such as the goals of the women's World Plan of Action.

WOMEN AND WORLD ORDER

What then are the consequences for the women's World Plan of Action and the advancement of women? Is all hopeless? I don't believe it is. But the challenges are formidable. If we hope to succeed in our goals we must:

1. *Enlarge our vision and analysis.* We must place our issues in the macro-context of global interdependence and identify all the forces that impinge on our issues. In being too quick to blame men as the source of women's problems, women often fail to identify the forces of domination inherent in the present world system which negatively impact on both men *and* women.

2. *Work for world order alternatives.* While continuing to press for realization of greater equality and development — the first two goals of the Decade for Women — we must give ever more energy and attention to the third objective, that of peace. In fact it may well be that the order of the three goals should be revised to read *peace*, development and equality. Equality may be the fruit of the first two.

Women, who have been so deeply affected by the subordination of their social worth and needs in a system geared to military, economic and resource warfare, have an important contribution to make in helping redefine what constitutes *true* world security and *true* national security. They know their personal interests and those of their children can best be assured when a nation's security is measured by the degree to which all its citizens, including women and children, are affirmed as of equal worth. Women know that a nation, like a family, is more truly secure when its basic needs are given priority over balance-of-power struggles. They know true national security will be realized when their children are ensured a world in which they need not fear annihilation or dehumanization.

3. *Be pragmatic and ready for long-range work.* In working for peace we must not only denounce militaristic and other violent approaches to national security. We must do more than remain one step behind the latest development in destructive weaponry or the newest "advance" in arms technology. We must do more than denounce. We must be ready to extend our historic nurturing role to foster the growth of a new era in the human community. We must be ready to work for systems change that can produce constructive alternatives and prevent arms buildup and militarism in the first place.

Nations are not likely to disarm without satisfactory alternatives to ensure security against outside threats. Practically this means the development of more effective means than presently available to manage disarmament procedures and ensure compliance in disarmament agreements. It means a more effective world court, improved arbitration procedures to prevent internation conflicts from erupting in war and arms manufacture. It means a considerable strengthening of the peacekeeping capacities of the United Nations, changes in the Security Council (now dominated by a few powers), and a system of greater accountability to the people, with checks and balances to prevent abuses of power.

It also means a massive educational task and political change activity at local, national and international levels.

We must also see the relationship of peace to other areas of world order concern. For example, the Law of the Seas, human rights, greater economic and resource equity, care of the environment, all impact on the social climate in which peace will rise or fall. They all profoundly affect women and all are deeply in need of women's participation and commitment.

This is long-term and unglamorous work. It will take pragmatic, patient and often thankless labor, coupled with abiding hope and care — the same kind of requirements needed in family life. But the extensions of these qualities now need to be global.

Women will be challenged to find creative solutions to complex problems and to extend their organizational skills to new levels of sophistication.

A SMALL BEGINNING

Women have made a beginning in re-identifying peace as a woman's issue — not only in the goals of the Decade for Women, but also in national women's conferences. For example, at the 1977 Houston conference, U.S. women issued a good statement. They called on the President and Congress to intensify effort to:

- Build, in cooperation with other nations, an international framework within which serious disarmament negotiations can occur.
- Reduce military spending and foreign military sales and convert excessive weapons manufacturing capacity to production for meeting human needs.
- Support peace education in schools and advanced study in the fields of conflict resolution and peacekeeping.

They also asked the U.S. to take the lead in urging all nuclear powers to start phasing out their nuclear arsenals.

In presenting the U.S. Women's Plan of Action to President Carter, former Representative Bella Abzug singled out these peace goals for his attention.

But such statements are *only a beginning* and much more is demanded of us. Up to now, despite the fact that many women's organizations include peace among their goals, few contemporary women have been involved in the pragmatic and necessary work of developing effective world order alternatives. For example, the World Order Models Project of the Institute for World Order has produced a number of volumes with different cultural perspectives on what a more just and peaceful world order might look like and on transitional steps to get there. The models have come from regional teams in Africa, Asia, Latin America, North America, Europe and the Soviet Union.[16] All the volumes are by men.

Work in the United Nations related to a new International Economic Order and to the Law of the Seas has primarily been the work of men. In the case of the latter, the contributions of Elisabeth Mann Borgese stand out as a notable exception.[17]

The Clark-Sohn plan[18], which is comparable to the World Federalist model, was also the work of men. And the analysis and alternatives presented by the Club of Rome[19] have been primarily the work of men. The constitutional model of the World Constitution and Parliament Association is exceptional in that it has had the input of both men and women.[20]

This is not to say that the work by men on the above models is defective. It is only to say that presently there is a great vacuum relative to the participation of women in such efforts. Earlier in this century women appear to have been more involved in the search for world order alternatives, if we take the work of Rosika Schwimmer and Lola Maverick Lloyd[21] as examples.

At some points in history sex role delineation may have served well the cause of survival. But today, in a nuclear age, in an age of diminishing resources and increasing tensions, military strength and power are fragile vessels for security. Patterns of dominance — whether of one sex over another or of one nation over another — are proving dysfunctional and have come to be a threat to our future survival.

There are three areas of world order work in which many more women need to be involved:

1. *Conception of world order alternatives;*

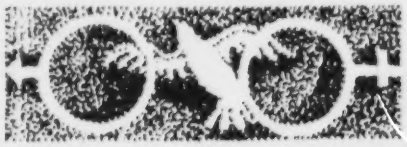
2. *Public education* at local, regional and national levels;

3. *Political change*, including planning, strategies and action at local, national and international levels.

Work for world order is at a critical juncture. The issues are urgent. They vitally affect women. And the contributions of women are vitally needed. If women don't involve themselves now they may one day make the same observation that Alice Paul made at the onslaught of World War II. She observed then that the present crisis had come about without women having anything to do about it. "If women of the world had been involved things today might have been different."

Only the next time the devastation may be worse, making the urgency now even greater.

The historical role of women (as well as men) has been greatly determined by group security needs. Where physical and military strength seemed essential to the group's survival, the prizing of "masculine values" and male dominance arose. This is the pattern we have inherited and the one in which we have been conditioned.



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It is no accident that the cause of peace and world order has been so intertwined with the cause of women's suffrage and equality. It is no accident that in this century, when the world so desperately needs an end to these patterns of dominance, that both causes are on the ascent. Now, more than ever, is the time for the women's movement to realign itself once again in even stronger commitment to the cause of a more just and peaceful world order.

Helvi Sipila articulated the challenge to women of today's world when she asked:

> "Who has created the situation? Who could change it? Who participates in the planning, decision-making and implementation of all those national plans and international efforts that might assist in their implementation?
>
> The answer is men and women — the men mostly by action, the women mostly by inaction, quietly accepting the state of affairs . . .
>
> We must act now to create a secure world that invests its resources not in armaments but in improving the lives of human beings. That is our first priority."[22]

Patricia Mische is an educator and writer. She has taught in East African and U.S. schools and colleges; founded an Institute on Education for Peace, Justice and Human Values at Seton Hall University; and has traveled and lectured widely throughout the world. She is co-author, with Gerald Mische, of TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER: Beyond the National Security Straitjacket, and editor of The Whole Earth Papers.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a detailed account of the Seneca Falls meeting and the history of women's suffrage see Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others, editors, (6 volumes) *History of Woman Suffrage* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1881-1922).
2. See account in Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, editors, *The Power of The People*, (Peace Press: 3828 Willat Ave., Culver City, Ca., 90230), Chapter two.
3. Josephine Rubin, "Women and Peace," *The Whole Earth Papers*, Vol. 1, No. 6, Spring, 1978. (Global Education Associates).
4. Cooney and Michalowski, op. cit., p. 60.
5. The eight countries where women still have not secured political rights by law are Bahrain, Kuwait, Nigeria (six states), Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen. (In Saudi Arabia and Yemen men and women are politically equal in that neither sex can vote). In Lichtenstein, not a member of the United Nations, women have made progress in suffrage on local levels, but still lack suffrage nationally. See: Margaret K. Bruce, "Women and Policy Making in the United Nations," (pre-publication copy) — a report for the UNITAR sponsored colloquium on Women and Decision Making in the United Nations held in Austria in 1977. *Law and the Status of Women: An International Symposium*, (New York: Columbia Human Rights Law Review, 1978).
6. For more details on education and women, see the following: Kaity Miller and Micaela Mendelsohn, "Education and the Participation of Women in World Development," a W.E.A.L. Fund Report. Women's Equity Action League, Suite 822, 805-15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. "Women's Status: A Worldwide Profile," *New Internationalist*, London (monthly) Oct. 1977. "Third World Woman," *UNICEF News*, No. 67, July, 1973. "Women and Development," *UNICEF News*, No. 82, April, 1974.
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8. Figures are given and discussed in the following documents: Margaret K. Bruce, op. cit. Alexander Szalai, with Margaret Croke, "Women on the Professional Staff and at Decision Making Levels of the United Nations System: 1972-1976," (pre-publication copy). "UNITAR Colloquium on Women and Decision Making in the United Nations Schloss Hernstein, Austria, 13-16 July 1977." "Women in the United Nations," New York: United Nations, 1977.
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This monograph, along with others in *The Whole Earth Papers*, is published by Global Education Associates, as part of their educational services. The papers are an effort to foster grassroot consciousness of the linkages between local and global concerns and of the needs and opportunities to undertake initiatives toward a more human world order.

The Whole Earth Papers are being written following the publication of *TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER: Beyond the National Security Straitjacket* (Paulist 1977) as a further development of and dialogue on the analysis and strategies outlined by Gerald and Patricia Mische in that book.

The Whole Earth Papers are designed as educational tools for adult and classroom educators, community organizers, lobbyists and issue constituency leaders as well as for individual and group study and reflection. G.E.A. welcomes comments on the papers, suggestions on topics for future issues and ideas on strategy and action which grassroots groups can undertake.

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THE WHOLE EARTH PAPERS
Published by Global Education Associates Vol.1 No.8

Women, Power and Alternative Futures

PART II: WOMEN AND POWER

by PATRICIA MISCHE

Which is the new force necessary to create new faith and confidence among people and nations, and to direct the human and material resources into constructive purposes, instead of destructive?

Who are those who have not participated in building the present situation? If there is any such group, the largest one must be the women of the world. They could become the new, dynamic force to create change, change in the minds, attitudes, behavior and action of all people.

Helvi Sipila,
United Nations Assistant Secretary General for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, 1978.

The question of power is central to the human challenge we have before us: that of building the earth rather than sowing its destruction; that of being co-participants in creational evolution rather than in anti-creational devastation. The question of power is one that must be explored in the spirit of truthfulness by both men and women. But for women it has special significance, because women have been perceived and have thought of themselves for so many centuries as being powerless.

In its Latin origins, the word *power* means "to be able." Power is energy. It is the ability to cause or prevent change. In itself it is neither good nor evil. But its applications may have either positive or negative results.

Today the destructive uses of power threaten life on a planetary scale. They are manifest in an ever escalating arms race and economic warfare; in mass social injustice and violations of human rights; in terrorism; in the rapid and unquestioning consumption of non-renewable resources; and in the pollution of our one life support system with nuclear waste and other deadly pollutants.

The destructive power of the world's nuclear arsenals could not have been imagined by humankind in earlier ages. We now measure that destructive power in megatons, for it is assessed at several *million* times the explosive force of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. And this stockpiled destructive power is daily increasing and proliferating among nations. It is estimated that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. alone have enough TNT stockpiled to kill everyone on earth 6000 times.

While the world's military budgets increase, world hunger, poverty, inflation, housing, education, health care and other concerns are ill attended.

Environmental abuses such as the pollution of our one water system and our one air system; the yearly loss of millions of acres of top soil; and the rapid depletion of vital basic resources threaten to destroy the life-support system upon which we and our grandchildren depend. We are led to question the arrogant assumption that humans have the right to "dominate the earth."

What stance should women have toward such forms of domination and power? Should they strive unquestioningly for equality and assimilation in the systems and decision-making processes that perpetuate these trends? Should they retreat once again in a continued negation of their powers, needs and capacities, claiming innocence of the resulting destruction? Or should they apply their energies toward the establishment of viable and humanizing alternatives?

Today there is a rift among women. On the one hand are the women who want a piece of the pie, part of the action. They may be tempted to attain status and power formerly withheld from women without questioning the context in which they exercise this new power.

"Women and Power" is Part II of a monograph on Women, Power and Alternative Futures by Patricia Mische. Ms. Mische, co-author, with Gerald Mische, of TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER, is a co-founder of Global Education Associates and editor of The Whole Earth Papers.

On the other hand are those who resist efforts for equal rights. I believe that this resistance is due not only to a difference of opinion over issues such as abortion or a negative reaction to abrasiveness on the part of some women activists. I believe it arises even more fundamentally from a deep fear of the end of innocence and the burden of assuming equal responsibility for human history.

But there is another category of women, often overlooked in history and in current media coverage of the women's movement. These are the women who, critical of current abuses of power, have learned to embrace their own powers and to apply their energies at personal, local, national and world levels for greater justice, peace and humanization.

This paper examines these three categories and various shades in between.

EQUALITY IN DESTRUCTIVE POWER

In Part I we touched briefly on the unfortunate dichotomy that was established between "masculine" and "feminine" values in societies basing their security on the ability to wage war or defend themselves from attack.

If we interpret "nation" in the sense of that unit which binds people together for mutual security, e.g., the tribe, we can validly say that national security priorities have historically been a major factor in placing males — and "masculine" virtues — in charge of most societies. Margaret Mead says that the basic relevant information about the position of women through prehistory is based on the universal nature of the *division of labor*:

> Heavy work, such as cutting down trees or working with metals, long distance work, such as hunting large game or trading at great distances, and dangerous animals, have traditionally been assigned to men. There is a direct correlation between the division of labor and the childbearing activities of women, who, burdened by pregnancy or the weight of a lactating child, were in need of protection from the rigors and dangers of such activities. The need for a woman to remain close to the home base — heavily underlined by the vicissitudes of childbirth among nomadic migrating peoples — seem a sufficient explanation for most of these rules and division of labor.

The above factors are related to tribal (national) security. Add to them the role of war, a role determined in pre-modern history more by muscular strength than by non-physical technology.

Together, these various causes of traditional division of labor for physical survival necessarily made other values and characteristics subordinate to national security related values. From an early age boys were trained in values and skills such as strength, endurance, cunning, bravery, prowess, competition, and other uses of power designed to protect the group. These values then came to be looked on as "masculine." Because these were deemed essential to the group's survival, these "masculine" values were prized and rewarded. Women, who were free from the need to prove themselves on the battlefield, were schooled in values that later came to be ascribed as "feminine" and served well their nurturing role: love, gentleness, patience, understanding. These values, important as they were to the group, were in many societies less prized than values which ensured survival against enemy threats. In fact, to the degree that these "feminine" values undermined group security, they were subordinated to "masculine" ones or repressed. Women who embodied these values were less prized than the men upon whom security depended.

A role reversal, such as among the fabled Amazons, in which women assumed the defense roles, would have necessitated women developing "masculine" values (possibly at the expense of traditional "feminine" values) and would have given men greater freedom to develop their so-called "feminine" potentialities.

The present situation, however, reveals a trend not toward Amazonian role *reversal*, but a push for *equal opportunity* for both sexes to excel in "masculine" values in the context of inter-national military competition and national security priorities. The faces in power may change. But the basic social order has not. In fact, from the birth of the modern nation-state in Jacobin France through Bismark's Prussian State up to the superpowers of our own time, traditional "feminine" values have increasingly become subordinated to national security values.

Now, in our "zero-lead-time" missile world, with increasing economic and resource competition among nations, there is an ever deeper and extended entrenchment of so-called "masculine" values (not inherently male, but historically attributed to men).

This is not to say that national security priorities are the sole cause of male chauvinism — though such priorities have provided the major historical framework for male domination. The primary issue here is that today's permanent mobilization of national life constitutes a major barrier to true advancement for women, and full human development for both men and women.

It is not only that, (as outlined in Part I), women find their educational, employment, day-care, health-care and other goals getting minimal attention by national governments. In a push for equality, women find themselves competing with men who are already dehumanized by the impersonal and technical values and goals of the National-Security-State-System. They seek a place in the same national security "machine" that has been a major factor in male domination and the subordination of "feminine" values (not inherently female, but attributed to women). This national-security machine, which may once have served the cause of group or national survival, now, in a nuclear age, threatens human survival on a planetary scale.

One example of a push to equal opportunity within a system of destructive power is a recent development in U.S. military branches. Women in the U.S. Air Force won the right in 1978 to serve with men in the underground silos that house Titan missiles. These are the most powerful intercontinental ballistic missiles in the U.S. arsenal. They represent a type of power unprecedented in human history — for men or women.

The four-member crews that "man" the Titans rotate in 24-hour periods of constant alert and practice for nuclear war. The decision to sexually integrate these crews was hailed by the Air Force as a major advance for women and an "evolutionary step in opening more Air Force career fields to qualified women applicants." If the experiment with the first 40 women trained for duty with the Titans is successful (that is, if the women do a good job and there is no "hanky-panky" between crew members and the skepticism of the top brass is alleviated) women may win enough trust to be assigned to the Minuteman missile crews and to other combat duties.

The present situation reveals a push for *equal opportunity* for both sexes to excel in "masculine" values in the context of international military competition and national security priorities. The faces in power may change. But the basic social order has not.

Up to now, women have been barred from combat duty in the U.S. Armed Forces. Electronic and technological warfare, however, blurs the distinction between combat and non-combat activity. As warfare becomes more dependent on electronic skills, women, if not consciously choosing alternatives, may have a larger role in it. In the words of one Pentagon official: "For a woman, being in a foxhole may be impractical. Flying a bomber is not. It should be up to the service secretaries to decide what a woman should do."

Already the U.S. Defense Department has asked Congress to undo the present law barring women in combat and to permit the various service branches to determine the types of duty to which women can be assigned. There are a number of reasons for such a request. The present lag in volunteer recruitment could be offset by recruiting women for more positions. Demands by women's advocacy groups and criticism about the status of women in the military in studies such as that from the Brookings Institute are having a "successful" impact. Opening more positions to women would enable the military to show a cleaner record in regards to women's rights.

Women have "come a long way." Or have we? Should women really applaud this equality as "progress"? I question whether it represents any true form of progress at all — for men or women.

To laud these developments leaves totally unchallenged the notion that the human community should tolerate the development of nuclear weapons in the first place, much less whether anyone — male or female — should be mentally, physically and spiritually conditioned to use them. It leaves totally unchallenged the assumption that preparation for planetary devastation is an acceptable form of human behavior. It leaves unchallenged the notion that national security and well-being can truly be attained by the use of weapons that can destroy all human life many times over.

What measure progress if equality for women means equal annihilation for ourselves and our children? And what measure progress if the equality we seek is rooted in a form of power that breeds violence and destroys faith in the future?

And what measure progress if women in some nations realize ultimate destructive power at the expense of the most basic needs and goals of women around the world?

The example of women working in Titan missile silos was given not to single out or condemn women in the military services, but by way of raising a question which has broader implications. Should women push for equality without critically assessing the structures in which they work and the ends and uses of their new found power?

If we accept structures and patterns of dominance as presently constituted, looking only to getting a share of the pie, we will liberate no one — not ourselves, not our children, not our world. We will have a piece of the pie. But that pie will nourish neither us nor the world. We will have equality — but at the expense of our life and humanness.

If we accept structures and patterns of dominance as presently constituted, looking only to getting a share of the pie, we will liberate no one — not ourselves, not our children, not our world. We will have a piece of the pie. But that pie will nourish neither us nor the world.

Maybe instead, we should be trying to create quite another pie. For a true advance in human affairs will not be furthered by more and more women being assimilated into a literally "man-made" world. Rather, it will evolve when women and men together create a new future — one that nurtures human survival, well-being and realization for all people — male or female — on this planet.

THE POWERLESSNESS SYNDROME

Not all women seek to win equality and exercise their power in ways overtly militaristic or destructive. In fact, many go to the opposite extreme of withdrawing support from or actually opposing equal rights for women because, among other things, they associate it with the loss of traditional feminine immunity from armed combat. They also mistakenly assume that equal rights means a necessary erosion of family life and other prized values.

Given these assumptions, they would much prefer to retain the immunities, privileges and moral stature that women derived from past inequities.

Unfortunately, in retaining past inequities, women also relinquish participation in vital decisions shaping the future of the human community. About this phenomenon, Helvi Sipila asked:

> Why do women accept to be absent when decisions are being taken which are equally important for them as for men and for the future of their children? This applies particularly to the cases where those decisions have an impact not only on their own nation but on many nations and the world at large. It depends on women just as much as men whether the dangerous arms race in the world is put to an end.

We women perceived ourselves as being powerless for so long that we came to think of it as one of our *virtues*. And history seemed to affirm the assessment. "We women" were not responsible or accountable for the atrocities of history. We, after all, were the anonymous "innocent women" of history, linked with the "innocent children." Why have the fates of "innocent women" who were killed, raped or maimed in war been viewed as more tragic than the death and brutalizing of men, if not because women were considered, like children, not responsible for wars and powerless to protect themselves? Why have women been considered virtuous if men provided for them and managed their lives and history, while men have been despised and insultingly called "women" for the same affecting of innocence and powerlessness?

Even now, after a century of women struggling to win access to the institutions and structures that determine their history, and the right to be responsible agents of their own destiny and future, women are often wrought with guilt, fear, confusion and uncertainties about their relationship to power. Fearing to entrust themselves with power, they tend to abdicate responsibility for the way their personal lives and world history evolves to others (usually men) whom they consider more powerful.

The reasons for this abdication of power on the part of many women are multiple and complex. But I would like to address myself to three potent forces, all integrally related to each other. These are: 1) historical perceptions; 2) psychological fears; 3) misconceptions about the nature of power.

WOMEN IN HISTORY

Whether it is true that women's participation in the decision-making that affects critical world issues such as peace and war would make a noticeable difference is still to be proven. When we look to history for examples of how women wielded power in the past we find a noticeable lack of female role models acceptable for today's circumstances.

We are talking now about history as it has been recorded and not about the reality of women in history. That story is largely still to be told.

The history we have available to us is only a partial recording of events. For the most part it is a recording done by male historians writing about men's conflicts and achievements from a male viewpoint. Women are conspicuously absent. The Bible, for instance, cites only 181 women but 3017 men. It does not take a mathematician to know that that is hardly representative of the historical ratio. Nor should it be taken as normative in describing women's significance in past history nor in prescribing their role in the future.

Some may judge that the omission of women from history is one more example of male oppression — this time on the part of male historians. But the problem runs much deeper. As we have already indicated, in societies in which group security was built on competitive military power and preparedness for war, women were largely excluded from the decision-making processes which gave some men greater historical visibility.

A related and equally important factor is the criteria used by a society and its historians to determine which events were of greatest social significance and therefore worthy of inclusion in that group's history. People prominent in those events are then singled out for attention.

A glance at most history texts reveals chapters divided according to periods of great war. This is not because historians are perverse. It is because war, the preparation for war, and the resulting aftermath usually result in swift and identifiable change. War provides good copy for history books — material that makes historians sit up and take notice. It also provides clear-cut heroes and villains.

The achievements of periods of great peace are much slower to develop. Although changes such as the agrarian revolution and other social transformations may in the long run have a much more substantial effect on human evolution, they do not usually produce the same colorful and identifiable figures. They also usually evolve over large sweeps of time that are harder to categorize and make conclusions about. The world has known far greater periods of peace than of war. But these periods, and the many people who made them work, are given disproportionately little attention — perhaps because they seem at first glance to be less interesting or historically insignificant.

Because of this disproportionate emphasis given to the history of war, conquest and domination, it is little wonder that the power and significance of women in history has been underplayed. Childbirth, agriculture, homemaking and other fields that have been considered women's sphere, hardly seem exciting material in contrast to marching men and thundering cannon. When women are included in history, it has more often than not been in their relationship to war, conquest and domination rather than according to how they have used their power as a moral force for peacemaking, justice, the creative arts or other advances in the human community.

It is little wonder then that women have appeared primarily as background figures in history. Up until recently, they have stood in the shadows of warfare, stage dressing for the main event. Like Helen of Troy, they have been the prizes for which men fought, the damsels in distress who needed rescuing and for whom men proved their bravery and cunning. Or they were the historical cheerleaders, urging their men on to victory and glory, getting their honor and identity vicariously, not through their own power, but from the physical power and moral righteousness of their husbands, lovers or sons. Like the mother of the seven Machabees, they were the stalwart women who sent their sons to die in defense of the group standard. Or the weeping women who received their sons and husbands and lovers back in burial cloths and coffins.

Their virtue was in acceptance. They endured. They were like Penelope, who spun away her life waiting for Odysseus to return from 20 years of war and adventure, as if her life had no purpose of its own other than the waiting. Or they were like Betsy Ross, sewing flags in the backroom. Or Florence Nightingale, tending victims of war *after* they were wounded — not preventing bloodshed in the first place.

The virtuous women of history were the ones who surrendered power, not exercised it. Whether helpmates to their husbands or the more color courtesans who distracted men from the burdens of the affairs of state, the acceptable role for women was seen as that of keeping men strong, virile and empowered for the good of the group or state.

Women in history were seldom singled out for contributions in their own right. Those that did have strong identities of their own often provide unacceptable models for today. Queens Catherine of Russia, Elizabeth I and Victoria all wielded power as heads of sovereign states and were responsible, like the male rulers before them, for military security. But they are hardly models for 20th Century women who wish to contribute to a positive world future. Nor are the biblical heroines such as Judith and

Delilah, who used their feminine wiles to manipulate and destroy their adversaries. Judith is lauded for wooing Halofernes into a drunken stupor and cutting off his head, thus helping deliver the Hebrews from the Assyrians. Similarly, Delilah aided the Philistines in capturing Samson. But such manipulative and violent power is not the kind we are seeking.

These powerful women of history, along with such contemporaries as Indira Gandhi, Golda Meir and Isabelle Peron, are often cited as examples that women and power should not mix, that somehow women are not suited to power and will fail to use it to create peaceful and just alternatives. This is to ignore that there are also relatively few historical models for the uses of power by men which are suitable for building a future of justice and peace.

But written history covers only a very short period of about 6,000 years. According to recent estimates based on Richard Leakey's discoveries in Kenya, human groups have existed for 3.75 million years. We know very little about human society in the vast span of millions of years of pre-recorded history. We cannot make judgments about human nature or the inherent capacities or roles of men and women on the basis of a minute fraction of human life on earth — particularly a fraction of time in which the recording of events has focused heavily on warfare and in which societies have been mobilized for military security.

The discovery in our times of groups of people such as the Tasaday provide insight into human nature, power and alternative futures. For the Tasaday, a small band of cave dwellers abiding deep in the rain forests of the Philippines, have developed a truly egalitarian and cooperative society. The Tasaday are protected by the natural impenetrability of the forest. Thus they have no need to give time, energy and resources to military security.

Nor have they evolved the sex role divisions evident in societies which base group security on warfare and systems of dominance. Among the Tasaday, men and women alike share in group decision-making. All members of society are involved in the gathering and preparation of food and in child care. Food and other resources are shared equally. Their language has no words for war or violence.

The Tasaday confront us with the truth of Margaret Mead's statement: "War is not inherent. It is a human invention and it can be uninvented." They also confront us with the reality that men and women can work cooperatively to advance themselves and society and that this advancement need not be achieved at the expense of others — neither one sex over the other, nor one group over the other. The model of power manifest in the Tasaday and some other human groups (anthropologists call it a synergistic model) provides a tremendous basis for hope in humankind.

Similar evidence of the inherent human capacity for cooperation has been underscored by the discoveries of Richard Leakey. In his book *Origins*, he describes the evidence from discoveries in Kenya of the oldest human fossils on record. There is every indication that our earliest ancestors had a highly cooperative society and that the cooperative instinct was essential to their survival. Leakey suggests that we now need to resurrect and reinforce this co-operative instinct on a global scale if we are to survive present crises.

It is conjectured that it was women who first began planting and cultivating, thus giving birth to the agrarian revolution — one of the major transformations in human history. From mythology we surmise that in agrarian societies where the emphasis was on life and growth, feminine deities or goddesses were central, while in the later city-states of recorded history, which were developed as garrisons of security and where physical strength was prized, male deities became central.

A basis for hope is being found not only in anthropology but also in the research of women attempting to uncover their lost history. Josephine Rubin, Kay Camp, Edith Wynner, Shinko Yamaya, Amy Swerdlow, Rosemary Rainbolt, Barbara Zenotti and Helen Michalowski are only a few contemporary women who have done historical research on the role of women in peace and world order efforts. They cite examples such as Julia Ward Howe, Bertha von Suttner, Jane Addams, Carrie Chapman Catt, Rosika Schwimmer, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Emily Greene Balch, Jeanette Rankin, Lucretia Mott, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Alice

The Tasaday confront us with the reality that men and women can work cooperatively to advance themselves and society and that this advancement need not be achieved at the expense of others — neither one sex over the other, nor one group over the other. The model of power they manifest provides a tremendous basis for hope in humankind.

Paul, Dorothy Day, Elizabeth Mann Borgese, Margaret Mead, Betty Williams, Mairead Corrigan, Hanna Newcombe, Elise Boulding, Helvi Sipila, Lucille Green, Helen Tucker, Alva Myrdal and the many Japanese women whose protests led to a nuclear test ban treaty, to name just a few in a long list of thousands of named and unnamed women over the last two centuries.

Some trace the roots of women's work for peace to biblical times, citing examples such as the refusal of Egyptian mid-wives to obey the command of the Pharoah to slaughter infant sons. (The Pharoah then sent in soldiers to do the bloody deed.)

But in the long run we women must do more than uncover our lost history in search of role models. We must also plumb our own depths and confront our fears.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FEARS

For a second great force that has led women to abdicate rather than exercise their power is fear. This fear is deeply imbedded and related to our perception of history and to our conditioning. That history and conditioning has led us to perceive our options for exercising power too narrowly.

We've tended to see only two options. These are epitomized in the archetypal figures of Cassandra and Clytemnestra in the Greek tragedy by Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*.

To summarize the events of the play: Agamemnon is King of Argos and commander-in-chief of the Greek forces in the Trojan War. Ten years before the events of the play, the Greek fleet was gathered off the shores of Aulis, waiting to sail off to Troy, to conquest and glory. Unfortunately (as the troops saw it), there were no winds. As the weeks went by the troops became disgruntled. Victory, honor and glory seemed further and further away. Agamemnon beseeched the gods for wind. Deceiving his wife Clytemnestra into believing he wanted to give their daughter Iphegenia in marriage to Achilles, he had Iphegenia brought to Aulis. Thereupon he seized and slaughtered her, offering the innocent girl in sacrifice to the gods in exchange for wind (and honor, glory, conquest and the other rewards of war).

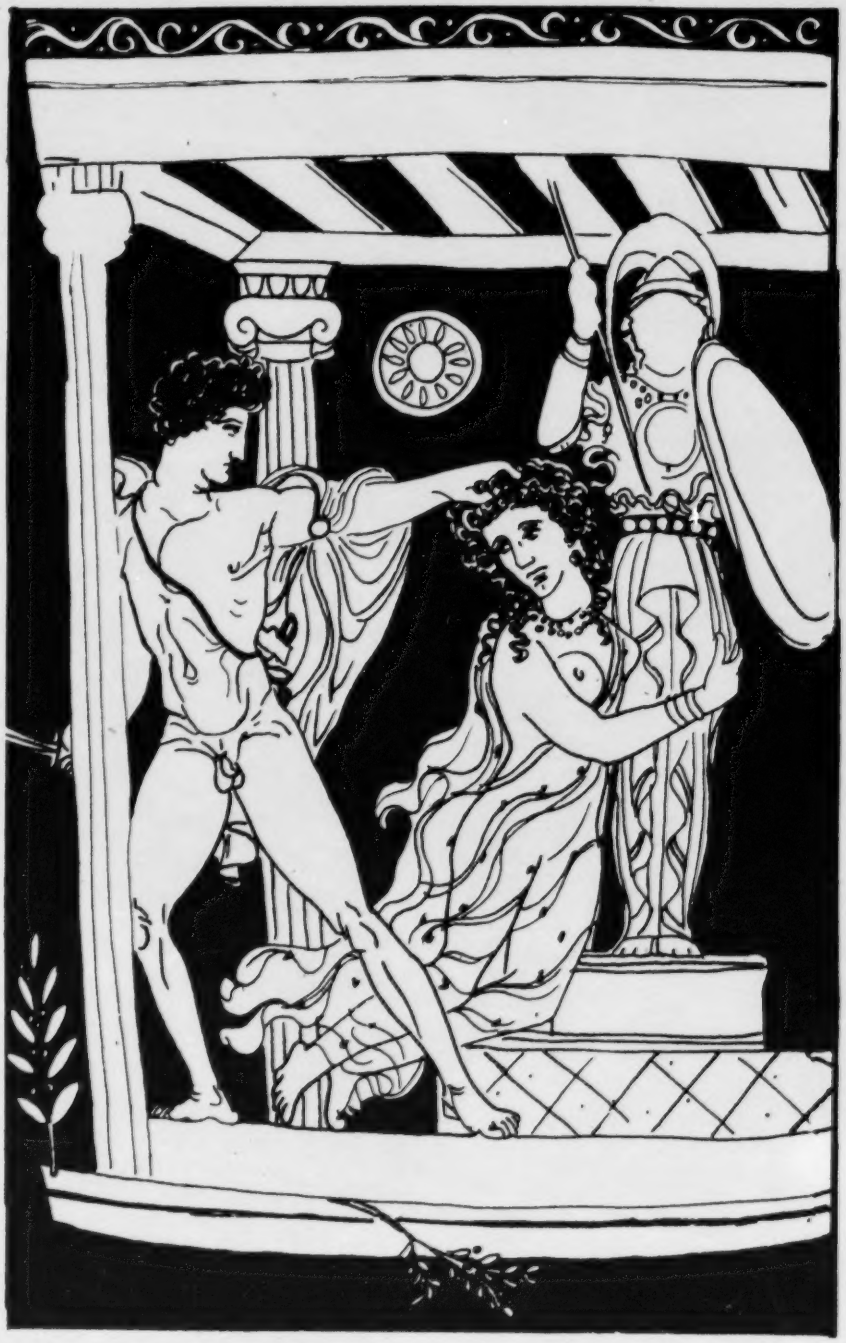
Ten years later, as the play opens, Agamemnon is returning victorious to Argos with Cassandra (the Trojan princess who was dragged from the temple where she had sought refuge during the siege of Troy). As victim and booty of war, Cassandra is brought back to Agamemnon's home as his concubine and slave.

Clytemnestra, who has had ten long years to plot her revenge for the sacrifice of her daughter, welcomes Agamemnon with a literal red carpet and all the charms of her sex. Meanwhile she is completing final arrangements for his murder.

Cassandra, who has the gift of prophecy, foresees her own bloody death as well as Agamemnon's. Weeping and wailing, she laments the circumstances that have led her to Argos and her demise, but when she is asked why she does not flee if she knows what is to happen, she does not respond. Whining about her fate, she walks of her own volition into the house of her death. Clytemnestra, with all the fury of 10 years of repressed anger, brutally kills them both. Later, to avenge the death of his father, Orestes kills his mother Clytemnestra.

How does this story relate to women and power today? On the one hand, we have Cassandra, who has a martyr complex and behaves as if she were powerless. Like a lot of us who are aware of world crises, she knows what lies ahead. She nevertheless accepts the situation, making no attempt to avoid it, and is thereby guilty of complicity in her own destruction. She has feigned innocence and powerlessness, but she is as guilty of her own death as Clytemnestra and Agamemnon. She has failed to assert her powers.

On the other hand, we have Clytemnestra, who responds to the violent use of power with more violence. She uses ma-



nipulation, coercion and force to destroy her oppressor — in this case Agamemnon — and in so doing breeds her own destruction. In her drive to come out from under domination and powerlessness, she chooses the same cruel pattern of dominance which had victimized her and her daughter.

Whom do you identify with more? There are probably more Cassandras — claiming powerlessness and doing themselves violence — than Clytemnestras. But if you are like me, you recognize strains of both in yourself. The two are integrally related. For it is very often the women who have felt themselves powerless and helpless, women who repress their rage and do not admit their anger (even though it may be a very legitimate anger) who flare up eventually with all the fury and violence of a Clytemnestra.

To the degree that Clytemnestra and Cassandra both exist in us, we will be torn between our fear of powerlessness on the one hand, and fear of our capacity for destruction on the other. This tension is made more difficult because we tend to block out both sides — the one because powerlessness is too painful to confront (Cassandra) and the other because we associate power with evil drives (Clytemnestra). But the battle rages on in our subconscious and manifests itself in our behavior.

We see it evident in the women's movement today. The repressed anger and fury of centuries is working its way out. Sometimes we direct it at men who are close to us, or men in the abstract. Sometimes we direct it at each other. The split among women today is a macro-view of what is happening in micro-view within ourselves. Part of us clings to the ancient role of Cassandra — that of "feigned innocence and powerlessness," rejecting our own powers. Part of us lashes out, testing that power in new ways.

Women have for so long been conditioned to exercise their power covertly in coy or manipulative behavior, that they are uncomfortable with asserting it more directly and often fear women who do. One reason is that women — unless they were born into powerful positions and had the protection of armies and wealth — have been punished for exercising their power.

For example, women who claimed spiritual power were burned at the stake — either as witches or, like Joan of Arc, as heretics. The vestiges of that "heretical" assessment are still with us today as women meet opposition and whole churches break up over the asserting of women's right to ordination and spiritual leadership and ministry.

When women claimed equal civic and employment rights with men, they feared the loss of their families and of love. They feared isolation and ostracization from the community. Because they feared these forms of personal punishment for the more direct exercising of their power, they learned to be coy and manipulative.

Now, through progress in the area of women's rights and through the community of understanding found in women's groups, women need no longer fear isolation or public scorn to the degree they did in the past. But the scars have not all healed and the old fears are often just under the surface of the thin veneer of bravado. We tend to feel safer in the "powerless" and pseudo-innocent role of a Cassandra. We fear power because we are afraid that, like Clytemnestra, we may destroy ourselves or someone else with it.

We forget that, like Cassandra, we may do the same thing by failing to use our power and that this failure has ramifications not only on a personal scale. It also has implications on a world scale.

When we face questions as big and horrendous as that of nuclear war, do we tend to shrink back into a feigned innocence and make a virtue out of powerlessness and weakness? If we close our eyes to this reality with some blind hope that we will thereby escape it, we are as guilty of the earth's demise as those who produce weapons and push the button. For we have used "powerlessness" as an excuse to evade responsibility.

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE NATURE OF POWER

One of the greatest difficulties women have in relation to power is that they associate it with evil. In point of fact, power is neither good nor evil, although it may be the instrument of both. Earlier we defined the word power as meaning "to be able." Power is energy. Rollo May calls it "the ability to cause or prevent change." Power is choice and awareness. It is the energy we use to achieve the effect we intend. Power is essential to all living things. We need power to live, to survive, to stay healthy, to love, to create, to become fully who we can be. It is first asserted in a baby's cry. Without that cry the baby might not get fed, changed, nourished; it might not survive.

In his very excellent book, *Power and Innocence*, Rollo May identifies five types of power:

1. *Exploitative*: This type of power is identified with force. It uses the other for personal gain. The victim is deprived of choice or spontaneity. It presupposes violence.
2. *Manipulative*: Power *over* another person.
3. *Competitive*: Power *against* another; one person wins, the other loses.
4. *Nutritive*: Power *for* the other, as in the normal parents' care of children.
5. *Integrative*: Power *with* the other; a "win-win" relationship. The dignity of self and the other is respected. It is non-harming. It is power integrated with *love*.

Integrative power is in touch with, and values the whole self — body, mind and spirit. It is also aware of and responsive to the *other*. It is not men versus women or women versus men or women versus women. Nor is it surrendering self or values in a false cooperation. The identity and dignity of all parties is respected — one's own and that of the other. Integrative power is non-harming - even when the other stands in opposition.

Integrative power recognizes that men as well as women have been victims of history and narrowly defined roles. It recognizes that if there is to be a future for each of us, we will all have to work it out together.

Integrative power can also be called *synergic* power. As power *with* the other, it does not benefit one at the expense of the other or the community, but tends to benefit both self *and* others. It is a caring form of power. It is power aligned with love. It is the combination of both power and love that makes a good marriage or family life workable. It is this alignment of love and power that is essential to shape a humanizing future — on a personal level and in the world.

Work for social justice, for peace, for overcoming poverty and alienation, for building a more truly humanizing future will not be effective — is not even possible — without a combination of love and power. Love itself is not possible without power or self assertion. And power without love is easily reduced to manipulation and exploitation.

Integrative power is not found in trying to fit someone else's model — whether it be the liberated woman's model or "The Total Woman" model, or the model presented by the woman next door. It is found in deep awareness of one's own being and potential, and a profound awareness of the earth on which we live and depend. For me, it is found in the awareness of God as Love and as Power. To have faith in God is to know that this God of Love and Power is present in me and in each of us, active through us in ongoing creational history.

In this God of Love and Power we are all called to be uniquely ourselves, even as we realize the common ground and future we share. We cannot make somebody else's contribution to the ongoing shaping of history. Nor can anyone else make ours. We are each here for a purpose. Each of our lives has significance and meaning. This purpose and special meaning and contribution will never be realized in an abdication of our powers — only in the integral use of them.

To the degree that women feign "innocence" and "powerlessness" and remove themselves from equal responsibility in building the earth, a more positive world future will not be developed. There never will be a more humanizing world order until women participate in shaping it. The wo-

men's movement must eventually go beyond self-consciousness and preoccupation with itself. Men have also been victims of the world system. As women we will realize ourselves only when we go beyond ourselves as co-participants in the larger creative task at hand — that of building the earth.

IN CONCLUSION

For the first time in history the global infrastructure is in place for this building task. What we still lack is a sufficiently widespread moral vision and the effective legal and juridical structures at the world level to insure our common security against war, environmental devastation, flagrant violations of human rights, hunger and poverty. We are all called to use our powers in making our unique contribution to that moral vision and those world order structures.

Some beginnings are being made in this direction. Activity is growing around the world in global justice and peace issues. United Nations world conferences and special sessions over the last 10 years on critical world issues such as the Law of the Seas, food, environment, population, housing, water and disarmament have been helpful. Despite the limited gains, these conferences are at least identifying common problem areas needing common solutions.

Women, who have been very underrepresented in world order work, need to play a far greater role in efforts to build alternative world structures than they did in building national structures. We need to do so not only to protect our own interests as women. We need to do so out of concern for the human community as a whole.

The values that have been labelled "feminine" — love, compassion, cooperation, patience — are very badly needed in giving birth to and nurturing a new era of greater peace and justice in human history. It would be unfortunate if they were forsaken by women because they seem dysfunctional to competition in a "masculine" world. Now, more than ever, these are the values that need to be asserted by men and women in creating a new world order.

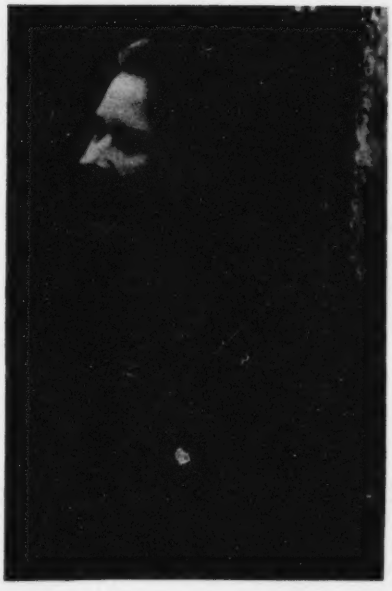


photo courtesy of John Oller

Patricia Mische

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This monograph, along with others in *The Whole Earth Papers,* is published by Global Education Associates, as part of their educational services. The papers are an effort to foster grassroot consciousness of the linkages between local and global concerns and of the needs and opportunities to undertake initiatives toward a more human world order.

The Whole Earth Papers are being written following the publication of *TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER: Beyond the National Security Straitjacket* (Paulist 1977) as a further development of and dialogue on the analysis and strategies outlined by Gerald and Patricia Mische in that book.

The Whole Earth Papers are designed as educational tools for adult and classroom educators, community organizers, lobbyists and issue constituency leaders as well as for individual and group study and reflection. G.E.A. welcomes comments on the papers, suggestions on topics for future issues and ideas on strategy and action which grassroots groups can undertake.

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